THE LIFE OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO,

BY

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PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN TO THE UNIVERSITY
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IN THREE VOLUMES.

Hunc igitur spectemus. Hoc propositum sit nobis exemplum.
Ille se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero valde placebit.
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SECTION IX.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

CICERO was present at the death of Cæsar in the senate; where he had the pleasure, he tells us, to see the tyrant perish as he deserved*. By this accident, he was freed at once from all subjection to a superior, and all the uneasiness and indignity of managing a power, which every moment could oppress him. He was now, without competition, the first citizen in Rome; the first in that credit and authority both with the senate and people, which illustrious merit and services will necessarily give in a free city. The conspirators considered him as such, and reckoned upon him as their sure friend: for they had no sooner finished their work, than Brutus, lifting up his bloody dagger, called out upon him by name, to congratulate with him

* Quid mihi attulerit ista domini mutatio, præter lætitiam, quam oculis cepi, justo interitu Tyranni? Ad Att. 14. 14.

on the recovery of their liberty*: and when they all ran out, presently after, into the forum, with their daggers in their hands, proclaiming liberty to the city, they proclaimed, at the same time, the name of Cicero; in hopes to recommend the justice of their act, by the credit of his approbation†.

This gave Antony a pretence to charge him afterwards, in public, with being privy to the conspiracy, and the principal adviser of it‡: but it is certain that he was not at all acquainted with it: for though he had the strictest friendship with the chief actors, and they the greatest confidence in him, yet his age, character, and dignity, rendered him wholly unfit to bear a part in an attempt of that nature, and to embark himself in an affair so desperate, with a number of men, who, excepting a few of their leaders, were all either too young to be trusted, or too obscure, even to be known by him§. He could have been of little or no service to them in the execution of the act, yet of much greater in justifying it afterwards to the city, for having had no share in it, nor any personal inte-

* Cæsare interfecto—statim cruentum alte extollens M. Brutus pugionem, Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Philip. 2. 12.

† Dio. p. 249.

‡ Cæsarem meo consilio interfectum. [Philip. 2. 11.] Vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuissem, molestus nobis non esset. Ep. Fam. 12. 3. it. 2.

§ Quam verisimile porro est, in tot hominibus partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus, neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuisse? Philip. 2. 11.

rest, to make his authority suspected. These were the true reasons, without doubt, why Brutus and Cassius did not impart the design to him: had it been from any other motive, as some writers have suggested, or had it admitted any interpretation injurious to his honor, he must have been often reproached with it by Antony, and his other adversaries of those times, who were so studious to invent and propagate every calumny that could depress his credit. I cannot, however, entirely acquit him of being, in some degree, accessary to the death of Cæsar: for it is evident, from several of his letters, that he had an expectation of such an attempt, and from what quarter it would come; and not only expected, but wished it: he prophesied, very early, that Cæsar's reign could not last six months, but must necessarily fall, either by violence, or of itself; and hoped to live to see it*: he knew the disaffection of the greatest and best of the city; which they expressed with great freedom in their letters, and with much more, we may imagine, in their private conversation: he knew the fierce and haughty spirit of Brutus and Cassius, and their impatience of a master; and cultivated a strict correspondence with them both, at this time, as if for the opportunity of exciting them to some act of vigor. On the news, that Atticus sent him, of Cæsar's image being placed in the temple of Quirinus, adjoining to that of the goddess Salus;

* Jam intelliges id regnum vix semestre esse posse—nos tamen hoc confirmamus illo augurio, quo diximus; nec nos fallit, nec aliter accidet. Corruat iste necesse est, aut per adversarios, aut ipse per se—id spero vivis nobis fore. Ad Att. x. 8.

"I had rather," says he, "have him the comrade "of Romulus, than of the goddess Safety*:" referring to Romulus's fate, of being killed in the senate. In another letter, it seems to be intimated, that Atticus and he had been contriving, or talking at least together, how Brutus might be spirited up to some attempt of that kind, by setting before him the fame and glory of his ancestors: "does "Brutus then tell us," says he, "that Cæsar "brings with him glad tidings to honest men? "where will he find them? unless he hangs him-"self. But how securely is he now entrenched on "all sides? What use then of your fine invention; "the picture of old Brutus and Ahala with the "verses under, which I saw in your gallery? Yet, "what after all can he do†?" One cannot help observing, likewise, in his pieces, addressed about

* Eum σύνναον Quirino malo, quam Saluti. Ad Att. 12. 15.

† Itane nunciat Brutus, illum ad bonos viros εὐαγγέλια sed ubi eos? nisi forte se suspendit? hic autem ut fultum est! ubi igitur φιλοτέχνημα illud tuum quod vidi in Parthenone, Ahalam & Brutum? sed quid faciat? Ad Att. 13. 40.

Parthenone is supposed to denote some room or gallery in Brutus's, or more probably in Atticus's house, adorned with the images or portraits of the great men of Rome, under each of which, as Cornelius Nepos tells us, [in vit. Att. c. 18.] Atticus had severally described their principal acts and honors, in four or five verses of his own composing: where the contemplation of these figures of old Brutus and Ahala, joined together in one picture, with the verses under, had given a handle, perhaps, to a conversation between Cicero and him, how Brutus might be incited, by the example of those great ancestors, to dissolve the tyranny of Cæsar. It seems, also, very probable, that this very picture of Atticus's invention, as Cicero calls it, might give occasion to the thought and coinage of that silver medal or denarius, which is still extant with the heads and names of those two old patriots; Brutus on the one side, Ahala on the other. Vid. Thesaur. Morell. in Fam. Junia. Tab. 1. 1.

this time to Brutus, how artfully he falls into a lamentation of the times, and of the particular unhappiness of Brutus himself, in being deprived by them of all the hopes and use of his great talents; putting him in mind, at the same time, of his double descent from ancestors, who had acquired immortal glory, by delivering Rome from servitude. Thus he concludes his treatise on famous orators.

" When I look upon you, Brutus, I am grieved " to see your youth, running, as it were, in full ca- " reer, through the midst of glory, stopped short " by the wretched fate of your country. This " grief sits heavy upon me, and on our common " friend Atticus, the partner of my affection, and " good opinion of you: we heartily wish you well; " wish to see you reap the fruit of your virtue, and " to live in a Republic, that may give you the op- " portunity not only to revive, but to increase the " honor and memory of the two noble families " from which you descend;—for the forum was " wholly yours; yours all that course of glory: " you, of all the young pleaders brought thither " not only a tongue ready formed by the exercise " of speaking, but had enriched your oratory, by " the furniture also of the severer arts; and, by " the help of the same arts, had joined to a perfec- " tion of eloquence the ornament of every virtue. " We are doubly sorry, therefore, on your account, " that you want the benefit of the Republic;—the " Republic of you: but though this odious ruin of " the city extinguishes the use of your abilities, go

" on still, Brutus, to pursue your usual studies, " &c."

These passages seem to give a reasonable ground to believe that Cicero, though a stranger to the particular counsels of the conspirators, had yet a general notion of their design, as well as some share in promoting it. In his reply to Antony's charge, he does not deny his expectation of it, freely owns his joy for it, and thanks him for giving him an honor, which he had not merited, of bearing a part in it. He calls it the most glorious act which had ever been done, not only in that, but in any other city; in which men were more forward to claim a share, which they had not, than to dissemble that which they had: that Brutus's reason for calling out upon him, was to signify, that he was then emulating his praises, by an act, not unlike to what he had done: that if to wish Cæsar's death was a crime, to rejoice at it was the same; there being no difference between the adviser and the approver: yet, excepting Antony, and a few more, who were fond of having a king, that there was not a man in Rome who did not desire to see the fact committed; that all honest men, as far as it was in their power, concurred in it; that some, indeed, wanted the counsel, some the courage, some the opportunity, but none the will to do it, &c*.

* Ecquis est igitur, qui te excepto, & iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit, aut factum improbarit? omnes enim in culpa. Etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt. Aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit; voluntas nemini, &c. Philip. 2. 12.

The news of this surprising fact raised a general consternation through the city; so that the first care of the conspirators was to quiet the minds of the people, by proclaiming peace and liberty to all, and declaring that no farther violence was intended to any. They marched out, therefore, in a body, with a cap, as the ensign of liberty, carried before them on a spear*, and, in a calm and orderly manner, proceeded through the forum; where, in the first heat of joy, for the death of the tyrant, several of the young nobility, who had borne no part in the conspiracy, joined themselves to the company, with swords in their hands, out of an ambition to be thought partners in the act; but they paid dear, afterwards, for that vanity, and, without any share of the glory, were involved in the ruin which it drew upon all the rest. Brutus designed to have spoken to the citizens, from the rostra; but, perceiving them to be in too great an agitation to attend to speeches, and being uncertain what way the popular humor might turn, and knowing that there were great numbers of Cæsar's

* A cap was always given to slaves, when they were made free; whence it became the emblem of liberty: to expose it, therefore, on a spear, was a public invitation to the people, to embrace the liberty that was offered to them by the destruction of their tyrant. There was a medal likewise struck on this occasion, with the same device, which is still extant. The thought, however, was not new; for Saturninus, in his sedition, when he had possessed himself of the Capitol, exalted a cap also on the top of a spear, as a token of liberty to all the slaves who would join with him: and though Marius, in his sixth consulship, destroyed him for that act, by a decree of the senate, yet he himself used the same expedient afterwards to invite the slaves to take arms with him against Sylla, who was marching with his army into the city, to attack him. Val. Max. 8. 6.

old soldiers in the city, who had been summoned from all parts to attend him to the Parthian war, he thought proper, with his accomplices, under the guard of Decimus's gladiators, to take refuge in the Capitol*. Being here secured from any immediate violence, he summoned the people thither in the afternoon; and in a speech to them, which he had prepared, justified his act, and explained the motives of it, and, in a pathetic manner, exhorted them to exert themselves in the defence of their country, and maintain the liberty now offered to them, against all the abettors of the late tyranny. Cicero presently followed them into the Capitol, with the best and greatest part of the senate, to deliberate on the proper means of improving this hopeful beginning, and establishing their liberty on a solid and lasting foundation.

Antony, in the mean while, shocked by the hardiness of the act, and apprehending some danger to his own life, stripped himself of his consular robes, and fled home in disguise, where he began to fortify his house, and kept himself close all that day†, till, perceiving the pacific conduct of the conspirators, he recovered his spirits, and appeared again the next morning in public.

While things were in this situation, L. Cornelius Cinna, one of the prætors, who was nearly allied to

* App. 2. p. 503. Dio. p. 250. Plut. in Cæs. & Brut.

† Quæ tua fuga? quæ formido præclaro illo die? quæ propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitæ? cum ex illa fuga—clam te domum recepisti. Philip. 2. 35. Vid. Dio. p. 259. App. 502, 503.

Cæsar, made a speech to the people in praise of the conspirators; extolling their act as highly meritorious, and exhorting the multitude to invite them down from the Capitol, and reward them with the honors due to the deliverers of their country; then, throwing off his prætorian robe, he declared that he would not wear it any longer, as being bestowed upon him by a tyrant, and not by the laws. But the next day, as he was going to the senate, some of Cæsar's veteran soldiers, having gathered a mob of the same party, attacked him in the streets with vollies of stones, and drove him into a house, which they were going presently to set on fire, with design to have burnt him in it, if Lepidus had not come to his rescue with a body of regular troops*.

Lepidus was, at this time, in the suburbs of Rome, at the head of an army, ready to depart for the government of Spain, which had been assigned to him by Cæsar, with a part of Gaul. In the night, therefore, after Cæsar's death, he filled the forum with his troops, and finding himself superior to any man in power, began to think of making himself master of the city, and taking immediate revenge on the conspirators: but being a weak and vain man, Antony easily diverted him from that design, and managed him to his own views: he represented the hazard and difficulty of the attempt, while the senate, the city, and all Italy were against them; that the only way to effect what they wished, was to dissemble their

* Plut. in Brut. App. p. 504.

real purpose; to recommend pacific counsels, and lull their adversaries asleep, till they had provided a strength sufficient to oppress them; and that, as soon as things were ripe, he would join with him very heartily in avenging Cæsar's death. With these remonstrances he pacified him; and, to render their union the firmer, and to humor his vanity at the same time, gave his daughter in marriage to Lepidus's son, and assisted him to seize the high priesthood, vacant by Cæsar's death, without any regard to the ordinary forms of election*. Having thus gained Lepidus into his measures, he made use of his authority and his forces, to harass and terrify the opposite party, till he had driven the conspirators out of the city; and when he had served his purposes with him at home, contrived to send him to his government, to keep the provinces and the commanders abroad in proper respect to them; and that, by sitting down with his army in the nearest part of Gaul, he might be ready for any event, which should require his help in Italy.

The conspirators, in the mean while, had formed no scheme beyond the death of Cæsar; but seemed to be as much surprised and amazed at what they had done, as the rest of the city: they trusted entirely to the integrity of their cause; fancying that it would be sufficient of itself to effect all that they expected from it, and draw an universal concurrence to the defence of their common liberty; and taking it for granted that Cæsar's fate, in the height of all his greatness, would deter any

* Dio. p. 249, 250, 257, 269.

of his partizans from aiming at the same power: they placed withal a great confidence in Cicero's authority, of which they assured themselves as their own, and were not disappointed; for, from this moment, he resolved, at all adventures, to support the credit of the men, and their act, as the only means left of recovering the Republic. He knew that the people were all on their side; and, as long as force was removed, that they were masters of the city. His advice, therefore, was to use their present advantage, and, in the consternation of Cæsar's party, and the zeal and union of their own, that Brutus and Cassius, as prætors, should call the senate into the Capitol, and proceed to some vigorous decrees, for the security of the public tranquillity*. But Brutus was for marching calmly, and with all due respect to the authority of the consul; and, having conceived hopes of Antony, proposed the sending a deputation to him, to exhort him to measures of peace: Cicero remonstrated against it, nor would be prevailed with to bear a part in it; he told them, plainly, that there could be no safe treaty with him; that, as long as he was afraid of them, he would promise every thing; but, when his fears were over, would be like himself, and perform nothing: so that, while the other consular senators were going forwards and backwards in this office

* Meministi me clamare, illo ipso primo Capitolino die, Senatum in Capitolium a Prætoribus vocari? Dii immortales, quæ tum opera effici potuerunt, lætantibus omnibus bonis, etiam sat bonis, fractis latronibus? Ad Att. 14. 10.

of mediation, he stuck to his point, and staid with the rest in the Capitol, and did not see Antony for the two first days*.

The event confirmed what Cicero foretold: Antony had no thoughts of peace, or of any good to the Republic: his sole view was to seize the government to himself, as soon as he should be in condition to do it; and then, on pretence of revenging Cæsar's death, to destroy all those who were likely to oppose him. As his business, therefore, was to gain time, by dissembling, and deceiving the republican party into a good opinion of him; so all his answers were mild and moderate, professing a sincere inclination to peace, and no other desire than to see the Republic settled again on its old basis. Two days passed in mutual assurances, from both sides, of their disposition to concord and amity; and Antony summoned the senate on the third, to adjust the conditions of it, and confirm them by some solemn act. Here Cicero, as the best foundation of a lasting quiet, moved the assembly, in the first place, after the example of Athens, to decree a general amnesty, or act of oblivion, for all that was passed; to which they unanimously agreed. Antony seemed to be all goodness; talked of nothing but healing measures; and, for a proof of his sincerity, moved, that the con-

* Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam Rempub. te adhortarer, quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum, simul ac timere desiisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque cum cæteri Consulares irent, redirent, in sententia mansi: neque te illo die, neque postero, vidi. Philip. 2. 35.

spirators should be invited to take part in their deliberations, and sent his son as an hostage for their safety: upon which they all came down from the Capitol, and Brutus supped with Lepidus; Cassius with Antony; and the day ended to the universal joy of the city, who imagined that their liberty was now crowned with certain peace*.

There were several things, however, very artfully proposed and carried by Antony, on the pretence of public concord, of which he afterwards made a most pernicious use; particularly, a decree for the confirmation of all Cæsar's acts: this motion was suspected by many, who stuck upon it for some time, and called upon Antony to explain it, and specify how far it was to extend: he assured them, that no other acts were meant than what were known to every body; and entered publicly on Cæsar's register: they asked, if any persons were to be restored from exile? He said, one only and no more: Whether any immunities were granted to cities or countries? He answered, none; and consented, that it should pass with a restric-

* In quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamenta pacis, Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum: græcum etiam verbum usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis erat usa civitas illa, atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui. Præclara tum oratio M. Antonii, egregia etiam voluntas: pax denique per eum & per liberos ejus cum præstantissimis civibus confirmata est—Philip. 1. 1.

Quæ fuit oratio de concordia?—tuus parvulus filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit. Quo Senatus die lætior? quo populus Romanus?—tum denique liberati per viros fortissimos videbamur, quia, ut illi voluerant, libertatem pax sequebatur. Ib. 13. Vid. Plut. in Brut.—

tion, proposed by Ser. Sulpicius; that no grant, which was to take place after the Ides of March, should be ratified*." This was generally thought so reasonable, and Antony's seeming candor had made such an impression, that those who saw the mischief of it, durst not venture to oppose it: especially as there was a precedent for it in the case of Sylla; and as it was supposed to relate chiefly to the veteran soldiers, whom it was not possible to oblige or keep in good humor, without confirming the privileges and possessions which Cæsar had granted to them. But Brutus and his friends had private reasons for entertaining a better opinion of Antony, than his outward conduct would justify: Cæsar had used him roughly on several occasions†; and they knew his resentment of it; and that he had been engaged with Trebonius, on Cæsar's last return from Spain, in a design against his life: and though he did not perform that engagement; yet they thought it an obligation, as well as a proof of his continuing in the same mind, that he had not discovered it, which was the reason of their sparing him, when Cæsar was killed, and of Trebonius's taking him aside, on pretence

* Summa constantia ad ea, quæ quæsita erant, respondebat: nihil tum, nisi quod erat notum omnibus, in C. Cæsaris commentariis reperiebatur: num qui exules restituti? unum aiebat, præterea neminem. Num immunitates datæ? nullæ, respondebat. Assentiri etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio voluit, ne qua tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Cæsaris aut beneficii figeretur. Philip. 1. 1.

† Philip. 2. 29.

of business, lest his behaviour, on that occasion, might provoke them to kill him too*.

But, as Cicero often laments, they had already ruined their cause, by giving Antony leisure to recollect himself, and gather troops about him, by which he forced upon them several other decrees against their will; one of them in favor of the veteran soldiers, whom he had drawn up, for that purpose, in arms about the senate †; and another still worse, for the allowance of a public funeral to Cæsar; which Atticus had been remonstrating against, both to Cicero and Brutus, as pernicious to the peace of the city; but it was too late to prevent it: Antony was resolved upon it, and had provided all things for it, as the best opportunity of inflaming the soldiers and the populace, and raising some commotions to the disadvantage of the Republican cause; in which he succeeded so well, that Brutus and Cassius had no small difficulty to defend their lives and houses from the violence of his mob‡. In this tumult, Helvius Cinna, one of the tribunes, and a particular friend of Cæsar, was torn in pieces by the rabble; being

* Quanquam si interfici Cæsarem voluisse crimen est, vide quæso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem & Narbone hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, & ob ejus consilii societatem, cum interficeretur Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ib. 14.

† Nonne omni ratione veterani, qui armati aderant, cum præsidii nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt?——Ad Att. 14. 14.

‡ Meministine te clamare, causam periisse, si funere elatus esset? at ille etiam in foro combustus, laudatusque miserabiliter; servique & egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi. Ad Att. 14. 10. 14. Plut. in Brut.

mistaken, unluckily, for the prætor of that name, who, as it is said above, had extolled the act of killing Cæsar in a speech from the rostra: this so alarmed all those who had any similitude of name with any of the conspirators, that Caius Casca, another senator, thought fit, by a public advertisement, to signify the distinction of his person and principles from Publius Casca, who gave the first blow to Cæsar*.

We are not to imagine, however, as it is commonly believed, that these violences were owing to the general indignation of the citizens against the murderers of Cæsar, excited either by the spectacle of his body, or the eloquence of Antony, who made the funeral oration: for it is certain, that Cæsar, through his whole reign, could never draw from the people any public signification of their favor; but, on the contrary, was constantly mortified, by the perpetual demonstrations of their hatred and disaffection to him. The case was the same after his death: the memory of his tyranny was odious, and Brutus and Cassius the real favorites of the city: as appeared on all occasions, wherever their free and genuine sense could be declared, in the public shews and theatres†; which

* C. Helvius Cinna Trib. pl. ex funere C. Cæsaris domum suam petens, populi manibus discerptus est, pro Cornelio Cinna, in quem sævire se existimabat; iratus ei, quod cum affinis esset Cæsaris, adversus eum nefarie raptum, impiam pro rostris orationem habuisset.—Val. Max. 9. 9. vid. Dio. p. 267, 268. it. Plut. in Cæs. & Brut.

† Omnes enim jam cives de Reipub. salute una & mente & voce consentiunt. Philip. 1. 9.

Quid enim gladiatoribus clamores innumerabilium civium; quid populi versus? quid Pompeii statuæ plausus infinitus? quid iis

Cicero frequently appeals to, as a proper encouragement to all honest men, to act with spirit and vigor, in the defence of their common liberty. What happened, therefore, at the funeral, was the effect of artifice and faction; the work of a mercenary rabble; the greatest part slaves and strangers, listed and prepared for violence, against a party unarmed, and pursuing pacific counsels, and placing all their trust and security in the justice of their cause. Cicero calls it a conspiracy of Cæsar's freedmen*, who were the chief managers of the tumult: in which the Jews seem to have borne a considerable part; who, out of hatred to Pompey, for his affront to their city and temple, were zealously attached to Cæsar, and, above all the other foreigners in Rome, distinguished themselves, by the expressions of their grief for his death; so as to spend whole nights at his monument, in a kind of religious devotion to his memory†.

This first taste of Antony's perfidy was a clear warning to the conspirators, what little reason they had to depend upon him, or to expect any safety

tribunis plebis, qui vobis adversantur? parumne hæc significant, incredibiliter consentientem populi Romani voluntatem? &c. ib. 15. Ad Att. 14. 2.

* Nam ista quidem libertorum Cæsaris conjuratio facile opprimeretur, si recte saperet Antonius. Ad Att. 14. 5.

† In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium, multitudo circulatim, suo quæque more, lamentata est, præcipueque Judæi, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt. Sueton. J. Cæs. 84.

in the city, where he had the sovereign command, without a guard for their defence; which, though D. Brutus demanded for them, they could not obtain: whilst Antony, to alarm them still the more, took care to let them know, that the soldiers and the populace were so enraged, that he did not think it possible for any of them to be safe*. They all, therefore, quitted Rome: Trebonius stole away privately for Asia, to take possession of that province, which had before been assigned to him; being afraid of being prevented by the intrigues of Antony: D. Brutus, for the same reason, possessed himself of the Cisalpine or Italic Gaul, which had been conferred upon him likewise by Cæsar, in order to strengthen himself there against all events, and by his neighbourhood to Rome, to encourage and protect all the friends of liberty: M. Brutus, accompanied by Cassius, retired to one of his villas near Lanuvium, to deliberate about their future conduct, and to take such measures, as the accidents of the times and the motions of their enemies should make necessary.

But as soon as the conspirators were gone, Antony resumed his mask, and, as if the late violences had been accidental only, and the sudden trans-

* Heri apud me Hirtius fuit; qua mente Antonius esset, demonstravit, pessima scilicet & infidelissima. Nam se neque mihi provinciam dare posse aiebat, neque arbitrari, tuto in urbe esse quenquam nostrum, adeo esse militum concitatos animos & plebis. Quorum utrumque esse falsum puto vos animadvertere—placitum est mihi postulare, ut liceret nobis esse Romæ publico præsidio: quod illos nobis concessuros non puto.—Ep. Fam. xi. 1.

port of a vile mob, professed the same moderation as before, and affected to speak with the greatest respect of Brutus and Cassius; and, by several seasonable acts, proposed by him to the senate, appeared to have nothing so much at heart as the public concord: among other decrees, he offered one, which was prepared and drawn up by himself, to abolish, for ever, the name and office of Dictator: this seemed to be a sure pledge of his good intentions, and gave an universal satisfaction to the senate; who passed it, as it were, by acclamation, without putting it even to the vote; and decreed the thanks of the house for it to Antony, who, as Cicero afterwards told him, had fixed an indelible infamy, by it, on Cæsar, in declaring to the world, that, for the odium of his government, such a decree was become both necessary and popular*."

Cicero also left Rome soon after Brutus and Cassius†, not a little mortified to see things take so wrong a turn, by the indolence of their friends; which gave him frequent occasion to say, that the Ides of March had produced nothing which pleased him, but the fact of the day; which was executed,

* Dictaturam, quæ vim jam regiæ potestatis obsederat, funditùs e Repub. sustulit. De qua ne sententias quidem diximus—eique amplissimis verbis per S. C. gratias egimus—maximum autem illud, quod Dictaturæ nomen sustulisti: hæc inusta est a te—mortuo Cæsari nota ad ignominiam sempiternam, &c. Philip. 1. 1, 13.

† Itaque cum teneri urbem a parricidis viderem, nec te in ea, nec Cassium tuto esse posse, eamque armis oppressam ab Antonio, mihi quoque ipsi esse excedendum putavi. Ad Brut. 15.

indeed, with manly vigor, but supported by childish counsels*. As he passed through the country, he found nothing but mirth and rejoicing in all the great towns, on the account of Cæsar's death: "It "is impossible to express," says he, "what joy "there is every where: how all people flock about "me: how greedy they are to hear an account of "it from me: yet, what strange politics do we "pursue! What a solecism do we commit! To be "afraid of those, whom we have subdued; to de-"fend his acts, for whose death we rejoice; to "suffer tyranny to live, when the tyrant is killed; "and the Republic to be lost, when our liberty is "recovered†."

Atticus sent him word of some remarkable applause, which was given to the famed comedian, Publius, for what he had said upon the stage, in favor of the public liberty; and that L. Cassius, the brother of the conspirator, then one of the tribunes, was received with infinite acclamations upon his entrance into the theatre‡: which convinced him

* Sed tamen adhuc me nihil delectat præter Idus martias. [Ad Att. 14. 6, 21.] Itaque stulta jam Iduum martiarum est consolatio. Animis enim usi sumus virilibus; consiliis, mihi crede, puerilibus. Ib. 15. 4.

† Dici enim non potest quantopere gaudeant, ut ad me concurrant, ut audire cupiant verba mea ea de re—sic enim πεπολιτεύμεθα, ut victos metueremus—nihil enim tam σόλοικον, quam τυραννοκτόνυς in cœlo esse, Tyranni facta defendi—Ad Att. 14. 6.

O Dii boni! vivit tyrannis, tyrannus occidit. Ejus interfecti morte lætamur, cujus facta defendimus—ib. 9.

‡ Ex priore theatrum, Publiumque cognovi, bona signa consentientis multitudinis. Plausus vero, L. Cassio datus facetus mihi quidem visus est. Ad Att. 14. 2.

Infinito fratris tui plausu dirumpitur. Ep. Fam. 12. 2.

only the more of the mistake of their friends in sitting still, and trusting to the merit of their cause, while their enemies were using all arts to destroy them. This general inclination, which declared itself so freely on the side of liberty, obliged Antony to act with caution, and, as far as possible, to persuade the city, that he was on the same side too: for which end he did another thing, at this time, both prudent and popular, in putting to death the impostor Marius, who was now returned to Rome, to revenge, as he gave out, the death of his kinsman Cæsar: where, signalizing himself at the head of the mob, he was the chief incendiary at the funeral, and the subsequent riots, and threatened nothing less than destruction to the whole senate: but Antony, having served his main purpose with him, of driving Brutus and the rest out of the city, ordered him to be seized and strangled, and his body to be dragged through the streets*: which gave him fresh credit with the Republicans; so that Brutus, together with Cassius and other friends, had a personal conference with him about this time, which passed to mutual satisfaction†.

By these arts, Antony hoped to amuse the conspirators, and induce them to lay aside all vigorous counsels; especially, what he most apprehended, that of leaving Italy, and seizing some provinces

* Uncus impactus est fugitivo illi, qui C. Marii nomen invaserat. Philip. 1. 2.

† Antonii colloquium cum nostris Heroibus pro re nata non incommodum. Ad Att. 14. 6.

abroad, furnished with troops and money; which might put them into a condition to act offensively: with the same view, he wrote an artful letter to Cicero, to desire his consent to the restoration of S. Clodius, the chief agent of P. Clodius, who had been several years in banishment, for outrages committed in the city; chiefly against Cicero himself, on whose account he was condemned. Antony, by his marriage with Fulvia, the widow of P. Clodius, became the protector of all that family, and the tutor of young Publius, her son; which gave him a decent pretence of interesting himself in this affair. He assures Cicero, that he had procured a pardon for S. Clodius from Cæsar; but did not intend to have made use of it, till he had obtained his consent; and though he thought himself now obliged to support all Cæsar's acts, yet he would not insist on this against his leave—that it would be an obligation to young Publius, a youth of the greatest hopes, to let him see, that Cicero did not extend his revenge to his father's friends—" permit me," says he, " to instil these " sentiments into the boy; and to persuade his " tender mind, that quarrels are not to be perpetu- " ated in families: and though your condition, I " know, is superior to all danger; yet you would " chuse, I fancy, to enjoy a quiet and honorable, " rather than a turbulent old age—lastly, I have a " sort of right to ask this favor of you; since I " never refused any thing to you: if I do not how- " ever prevail with you, I will not grant it to Clo- " dius; that you may see how great your autho-

" rity is with me: shew yourself the more placable " on that account*."

Cicero never hesitated about giving his consent, to what Antony could and would have done without it: the thing itself, he knew, was scandalous, and the pardon said to be granted by Cæsar a forgery; and that Cæsar would never have done it, or suffered it to be done; and so many forgeries of that kind began to be published every day from Cæsar's books, that he was almost tempted, he says, to wish for Cæsar again†. He answered him, however, with great civility, and in a strain of complaisance which corresponded but little with his real opinion of the man: but Antony's public behaviour had merited some compliments: and, under the present state of his power, and the uncertain condition of their own party, Cicero resolved to observe all the forms of an old acquaintance with him; till, by some overt act against the public interest, he should be forced to consider him as an enemy‡.

* Ad Att. 14. after letter the 13th.

† Antonius ad me scripsit de restitutione S. Clodii; quam honorifice quod ad me attinet, ex ipsius litteris cognosces—quam dissolute, quam turpiter, quamque ita perniciose, ut nonnunquam etiam Cæsar desiderandus esse videatur, facile existimabis: quæ enim Cæsar nunquam neque fecisset, neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis ejus commentariis proferuntur. Ego autem Antonio facillimum me præbui. Etenim ille, quoniam semel induxit in animum sibi licere quod vellet, fecisset nihilo minus me invito. Ad Att. 14. 13.

‡ Ego tamen Antonii inveteratam sine ulla offensione amicitiam retinere sane volo. Ep. Fam. 16. 23.

Cui quidem ego semper amicus fui, antequam illum intellexi non modo aperte, sed etiam libenter cum Repub. bellum gerere. Ib. xi. 5.

Antony made him but a cold reply; having heard, perhaps, in the mean time, of something which did not please him in his conduct. He told him only that his easiness and clemency were agreeable to him, and might, hereafter, be a great pleasure to himself*.

Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, was in Rome when Cæsar was killed; but, being terrified by that accident, and the subsequent disorders of the city, she ran away presently, with great precipitation. Her authority and credit with Cæsar, in whose house she was lodged, made her insolence intolerable to the Romans, whom she seems to have treated on the same foot with her own Egyptians; as the subjects of absolute power, and the slaves of a master, whom she commanded. Cicero had a conference with her in Cæsar's gardens; where the haughtiness of her behaviour gave him no small offence. Knowing his taste and character, she made him the promise of some present, very agreeable, but disobliged him the more by not performing it: he does not tell us what it was; but from the hints, which he drops, it seems to have been statues or curiosities from Egypt, for the ornament of his library; a sort of furniture which he was peculiarly fond of. But her pride being mortified by Cæsar's fate, she was now forced to apply to him, by her ministers, for his assistance in a particular suit, that she was recommending to the senate, in which he

* Antonius ad me tantum de Clodio rescripsit, meam lenitatem & clementiam & sibi esse gratam & mihi magnæ voluptati fore. Ad Att. 14. 19.

refused to be concerned. The affair seems to have related to her infant son, whom she pretended to be Cæsar's, and called by his name, and was laboring to get him acknowledged as such at Rome, and declared the heir of her kingdom, as he was, the year following, both by Antony and Octavius, though Cæsar's friends were generally scandalized at it, and Oppius thought it worth while to write a book, to prove that the child could not be Cæsar's*. Cleopatra had been waiting to accompany Cæsar into the east, in order to preserve her influence over him, which was very great; for, after his death, Helvius Cinna, one of the tribunes, owned, that he had a law ready prepared, and delivered to him by Cæsar, with orders to publish it, as soon as he was gone, for granting to him the liberty of taking what number of wives, and of what condition he thought fit, for the sake of propagating children†. This was contrived, probably, to save Cleopatra's honor, and to legitimate his issue by her; since polygamy, and the marriage of a stranger, were prohibited by the laws of Rome.

Cicero touches these particulars in several places, though darkly and abruptly, according to the style of his Letters to Atticus. "The flight of the "queen," says he, "gives me no pain. I should

* Quorum C. Oppius, quasi plane defensione ac patrocinio res egeret, librum edidit, non esse Cæsaris filium, quem Cleopatra dicat. Sueton. J. Cæs. 52. vid. Dio. p. 227, 345.

† Helvius Cinna—confessus est, habuisse se scriptam paratamque legem, quam Cæsar ferre jussisset cum ipse abesset, ut uxores liberorum quærendorum causa, quas & quot ducere vellet, liceret. Sueton. ib. Dio. 243.

" be glad to hear what farther news there is of her, " and her young Cæsar. I hate the queen: her " agent, Ammonius, the witness and sponsor of her " promises to me, knows that I have reason: they " were things only proper for a man of letters, and " suitable to my character; so that I should not " scruple to proclaim them from the rostra. Her " other agent, Sara, is not only a rascal, but has " been rude to me. I never saw him at my house " but once, and when I asked him, civilly, what " commands he had for me, he said, that he came " to look for Atticus. As to the pride of the " queen, when I saw her in the gardens, I can never think of it without resentment: I will have " nothing, therefore, to do with them: they take " me to have neither spirit, nor even feeling left*."

Antony having put his affairs into the best train that he could, and appointed the first of June for a meeting of the senate, in order to deliberate on the state of the Republic, took the opportunity of that interval to make a progress through Italy, for the sake of visiting the quarters of the veteran soldiers, and engaging them to his service, by all sorts

* Reginæ fuga mihi non molesta. [Ad Att. 14. 8.] de Reginâ velim, atque etiam de Cæsare illo. [ib. 20.] Reginam odi. Me jure facere scit sponsor promissorum ejus Ammonius; quæ quidem erant φιλόλογα & dignitatis meæ, ut vel in concione dicere auderem. Saram autem, præterquam quod nefarium hominem cognovi, præterea in me contumacem. Semel eum omnino domi meæ vidi. Cum φιλοφρόνως ex eo quærerem, quid opus esset, Atticum se dixit quærere. Superbiam autem ipsius Reginæ, cum esset trans Tiberim in hortis, commemorare sine magno dolore non possum. Nihil igitur cum istis: nec tam animum me, quam vix stomachum habere arbitrantur. Ib. 15. 15.

of bribes and promises. He left the government of the city to Dolabella, whom Cæsar, upon his intended expedition to Parthia, had designed and nominated to the consulship: and though Antony had protested against that designation, and resolved to obstruct its effect, yet, after Cæsar's death, when Dolabella, by the advantage of the general confusion, seized the ensigns of the office, and assumed the habit and character of the consul, Antony quietly received and acknowledged him as such, at the next meeting of the senate*.

Cicero had always kept up a fair correspondence with his son-in-law, though he had long known him to be void of all virtue and good principles: but he had now greater reason than ever for insinuating himself, as far as he was able, into his confidence, in order to engage him, if possible, to the interests of the Republic, and use him as a check upon the designs of his colleague Antony; in which he had the greater prospect of success, on the account of their declared enmity to each other. Dolabella greatly confirmed these hopes; and, as soon as Antony had left the city, made all honest men think themselves sure of him, by exerting a most severe, as well as seasonable, act of discipline, upon the disturbers of the public tranquillity. For the mob, headed by the impostor Marius, and the freedmen of Cæsar, had erected an altar in the

* Tuum Collegam, depositis inimicitiis, oblitus auspicia, te ipso Augure nunciante, illo primo die Collegam tibi esse voluisti— Philip. 1. 13.

forum, on the spot where Cæsar's body was burnt, with a pillar of Numidian marble, twenty feet high, inscribed to the father of his country. Here they performed daily sacrifices and divine rites, and the humor of worshipping at this new altar began to spread itself so fast among the meaner sort, and the slaves, as to endanger the peace and safety of the city: for the multitudes which flocked to the place, fired with a kind of enthusiastic rage, ran furious about the streets, committing all sorts of outrage and violence against the supposed friends of liberty. But Dolabella put an end to the evil at once, by demolishing the pillar and the altar, and seizing the authors of the disorders, and causing such of them as were free to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock, and the slaves to be crucified. This gave an universal joy to the city; the whole body of the people attended the consul to his house, and in the theatres gave him the usual testimony of their thanks, by the loudest acclamations*.

Cicero was infinitely pleased with this act, and enjoyed some share of the praise, since it was ge-

* Plebs—postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in Foro statuit, scripsitque Parenti Patriæ, apud eandem longo tempore sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias quasdam, interposito per Cæsarem jurejurando, distrahere perseveravit. Sueton. J. Cæs. 85.

Manabat enim illud malum urbanum, & ita corroborabatur quotidie, ut ego quidem & urbi & otio diffiderem urbano. Ep. Fam. 12. 1.

Nam cum serperet in urbe infinitum malum—& quotidie magis magisque perditi homines, cum sui similibus servis, tectis &

nerally imputed to the influence of his counsels: in a letter upon it to Atticus: "O my admirable "Dolabella!" says he, "I now call him mine; "for, believe me, I had some doubt of him before; "the fact affords matter of great speculation; to "throw them down the rock; to crucify; demo-"lish the pillar; pave the area; in short, it is he-"roic. He has extinguished all appearance of that "regret for Cæsar, which was spreading every "day so fast, that I began to apprehend some "danger to our tyrant-killers: but I now agree "with you, and conceive better hopes," &c*. Again; "O the brave act of Dolabella! what a "prospect does it give us? I never cease praising "and exhorting him——our Brutus, I dare say, "might now walk safely through the forum, with "a crown of gold upon his head; for who dares "molest him, when the rock or the cross is to be "their fate? and when the very lowest of the "people give such proofs of their applause and ap-"probation†?" He wrote, at the same time, from Baiæ, the following letter to Dolabella himself.

templis urbis minarentur; talis animadversio fuit Dolabellæ, cum in audaces sceleratosque servos, tum in impuros & nefarios cives, talisque eversio illius execratæ columnæ, &c. Philip. 1. 2.—recordare quæso, Dolabella, consensum illum theatri.—Vid. ib. 12.

* Ad Att. 14. 15.

† O Dolabellæ nostri ἀριστείαν! quanta est ἀναθεώρησις? equidem laudare eum & hortari non desisto—mihi quidem videtur Brutus noster jam vel coronam auream per forum ferre posse: quis enim audeat violare, proposita cruce aut saxo? præsertim tantis plausibus, tanta approbatione infimorum? Ib. 16.

CICERO to DOLABELLA, Consul.

"Though I was content, my Dolabella, with "your glory, and reaped a sufficiency of pleasure "from it, yet I cannot but own, that it gives me "an inexpressible joy, to find the world ascribing "to me also some share in your praises. I have "met with nobody here, though I see so much "company every day, (for there are many worthy "men now at this place, for the sake of their "health, and many of my acquaintance from the "great towns) who, after extolling you to the "skies, does not give thanks presently to me; not "doubting, as they all say, but it is by my pre-"cepts and advice, that you now shew yourself to "be this admirable citizen, and singular consul: "and though I could assure them, with great truth, "that what you are doing flows wholly from your-"self, and your own judgment, and that you want "not the advice of any one; yet I neither wholly "assent, lest I should derogate from your merit, "by making it seem to proceed from my counsel; "nor do I strongly deny it, being myself, perhaps, "more greedy of glory than I ought to be. But "that can never be a diminution to you, which "was an honor even to Agamemnon, the king of "kings, to have a Nestor for his counsellor; while "it will be glorious to me, to see a young consul, "the scholar, as it were, of my discipline, flourish-"ing in the midst of applause. L. Cæsar, when I "visited him lately sick at Naples, though op-"pressed with pain in every part of his body, yet,

" before he had even saluted me, could not forbear " crying out, O my Cicero! I congratulate with " you on account of the authority which you have " with Dolabella; for if I had the same credit with " my sister's son, Antony, we should all now be " safe: but as to your Dolabella, I both congra- " tulate with him, and thank him; since, from the " time of your consulship, he is the only one, " whom we can truly call a consul: he then en- " larged upon your act, and the manner of it; and " declared, that nothing was ever greater, nothing " nobler, nothing more salutary to the state; and " this, indeed, is the common voice of all. Allow " me, therefore, I beg of you, to take some " share, though it be a false one, in the possession " of another man's glory; and admit me, in some " degree, into a partnership of your praises. But " to be serious, my Dolabella, for hitherto I have " been joking, I would sooner transfer all the " credit that I have to you, if I really have any, " than rob you of any part of yours; for, as I " have always had that sincere affection for you, " to which you have been no stranger, so now I " am so charmed by your late conduct, that no " love was ever more ardent. For, believe me, " there is nothing, after all, more engaging, nothing " more beautiful, nothing more lovely than virtue. " I have ever loved M. Brutus, you know, for his " incomparable parts, sweet disposition, singular " probity, and firmness of mind: yet, on the Ides " of March, such an accession was made to my " love, that I was surprised to find any room for

" increase in that, which I had long ago taken to " be full and perfect. Who could have thought it " possible, that any addition could be made to my " love of you? Yet so much has been added, " that I seem but now at last to love, before to " have only esteemed you. What is it, therefore, " that I must now exhort you to? Is it to pursue " the path of dignity and glory? And as those do, " who use to exhort, shall I propose to you the " examples of eminent men? I can think of none " more eminent than yourself. You must imitate, " therefore, yourself; contend with yourself; for, " after such great things done, it would be a dis- " grace to you not to be like yourself. Since this " then is the case, there is no occasion to exhort, " but to congratulate with you: for that has hap- " pened to you, which scarce ever happened to any " man; that, by the utmost severity of punishing, " instead of acquiring odium, you are become po- " pular; and not only with the better sort, but the " very meanest of the city. If this was owing to " fortune, I should congratulate your felicity; but " it was owing to the greatness of your courage, " as well as of your parts and wisdom. For I have " read your speech to the people: nothing was " ever more prudent: you enter so deliberately " and gradually into the reason of your act, and " retire from it so artfully, that the case itself, " in the opinion of all, appears to be ripe for " punishment. You have freed us, therefore, " both from our danger and our fears, and have " done an act of the greatest service, not only

" to the present times, but for the example of it, " also, to posterity. You are to consider, that " the Republic now rests upon your shoulders; " and that it is your part, not only to protect, but " to adorn those men, from whom we have receiv- " ed this beginning of our liberty: but of this we " shall talk more fully when we meet again, as I " hope we shall, shortly: in the mean while, since " you are now the common guardian both of the " Republic, and of us all, take care, my dear " Dolabella, that you guard more especially your " own safety*."

In this retreat from Rome, he had a mind to make an excursion to Greece, and pay a visit to his Son at Athens, whose conduct did not please him, and seemed to require his presence to reform and set it right†. But the news of Dolabella's behaviour, and the hopes, which it gave, of gaining the only thing that was wanted, a head and leader of their cause, armed with the authority of the state, made him resolve to stay, at least till after the first of June, lest his absence should be interpreted as a kind of desertion; nor did he ever intend, indeed, to leave Italy, till he could do it without censure, and to the full satisfaction of Brutus, whom he was determined never to desert on any occasion‡.

* Ep. Fam. 9. 14.

† Quod sentio valde esse utile ad confirmationem Ciceronis, me illuc venire. [Ad Att. 14. 13.] Magni interest Ciceronis, vel mea potius, vel mehercule utriusque, me intervenire discenti. Ib. 16.

‡ Nunc autem videmur habituri ducem, quod unum Municipia, bonique desiderant. Ib. 20.

He had frequent meetings and conferences all this while with his old friends of the opposite party, the late ministers of Cæsar's power; Pansa, Hirtius, Balbus, Matius, &c. but Cæsar's death, on which their sentiments were very different from his, had, in great measure, broken their former confidence; and though the popularity of the act made them somewhat shy of speaking their minds freely about it, yet he easily perceived that they were utterly displeased with it, and seemed to want an occasion of revenging it. Pansa and Hirtius, as has been said, were nominated by Cæsar to the consulship of the next year, and, as Cæsar's acts were ratified by the senate, were to succeed to it of course. This made Brutus and Cassius press Cicero earnestly to gain them, if possible, to the republican side; but especially Hirtius, whom they most suspected. But Cicero seems to have had little hopes of success: his account of them to Atticus, is, that there was not one of them who did not dread peace more than war; that they were perpetually lamenting the miserable end of so great a man, and declaring that the Republic was ruined by it; that all his acts would be made void, as soon as people's fears were over, and that clemency was his ruin; since, if it had not been for that, he could not have perished in such a manner: and of Hirtius in particular: "he warmly "loves him," says he, "whom Brutus stabbed: as

Nec verò decedam, nisi cum tu me id honeste putabis facere posse. Bruto certe meo nullo loco deero. Ib. 15.—Vid. 16. 13.

" to their desiring me to make him better, I am " doing my endeavor: he talks very honestly, but " lives with Balbus; who talks honestly too: how " far they are to be trusted, you must consider*."

But of all this set of men, Matius was the most open and explicit in condemning the act of the conspirators, so as to put Cicero out of humor with him, as a man irreconcileable to the liberty of the Republic. Cicero called upon him, on his way from Rome into the country, and found him sullen, desponding, and foreboding nothing but wars and desolation, as the certain consequence of Cæsar's death. Among other particulars of their conversation, Matius told him something which Cæsar had lately said both of him and Brutus; that he used to say of Brutus, it was of great consequence which way he stood inclined, since whatever he had a mind to, he pursued with an impetuous eagerness; that he had remarked this of him more especially, in his pleading for Deiotarus at Nicæa; where he spoke with a surprising vehemence and freedom: and of Cicero, that when he was attend-

* Minime enim obscurum est, quid isti moliantur: meus vero discipulus, qui hodie apud me cœnat, valde amat illum, quem Brutus noster sauciavit, & si quæris, perspexi enim plane, timent otium. ὑπόθεσιν autem hanc habent, eamque præ se ferunt, virum clarissimum interfectum, totam Rempub. illius interitu perturbatam: irrita fore, quæ ille egisset, simul ac desistemus timere. Clementiam illi malo fuisse: qua si usus non esset, nihil illi tale accidere potuisse. Ad Att. 14. 22.

Quod Hirtium per me meliorem fieri volunt, do equidem operam, & ille optime loquitur, sed vivit habitatque cum Balbo: qui item bene loquitur. Quid credas videris. Ib. 20. 21.

ing Cæsar, in the cause of Sestius, Cæsar perceiving him sitting in the room, and waiting till he was called, said, "can I doubt of my being extremely odious, when Cicero sits waiting, and "cannot get access to me? yet if any man be easy "enough to forgive it, it is he, though I do not "question but that he really hates me*."

There were several reasons, however, which made it necessary to these men, to court Cicero, at this time, as much as ever; for, if the Republic happened to recover itself, he was of all men the most capable to protect them on that side: if not, the most able to assist them against Antony, whose designs and success they dreaded still more; for, if they must have a new master, they were disposed, for the sake of Cæsar, to prefer his heir and nephew Octavius. We find Hirtius and Pansa, therefore, very assiduous in their observance of him: they spent a great part of the summer with him, at different times, in his villas, giving him the strongest assurances of their good intentions, and disposition to peace, and that he should be the arbiter of their future consulship: and though

* De Bruto nostro—Cæsarem solitum dicere. Magni refert hic quid velit: sed quicquid vult, valde vult. Idque eum animadvertisse cum pro Deiotaro Nicææ dixerit, valde vehementer eum visum, & libere dicere. Atque etiam proxime cum Sestii rogatu apud eum fuissem, expectaremque sedens quoad vocarer, dixisse eum; ego dubitem quin summo in odio sim, cum M. Cicero sedeat, nec suo commodo me convenire possit? Atqui si quisquam est facilis, hic est: tamen non dubito, quin me male oderit. Ad Att. 14. 1.

he continued still to have some distrust of Hirtius, yet Pansa wholly persuaded him that he was sincere*.

Brutus and Cassius continued still near Lanuvium, in the neighbourhood of Cicero's villa, at Astura, of which, at Cicero's desire, they sometimes made use†. Being yet irresolute what measures they should take, they kept themselves quiet and retired, expecting what time and chance would offer, and waiting particularly to see what humor the consuls would be in at the next meeting of the senate, with regard to themselves and the Republic; and, since they were driven from the discharge of their prætorship, in the city, they contrived to put the people in mind of them, from time to time, by their edicts, in which they made the strongest professions of their pacific disposition, and declared that their conduct should give no handle for a civil war, and that they would submit to a perpetual exile, if it would contribute in any manner to the public concord, being content with the consciousness of their act, as the greatest honor which they could enjoy‡. Their present design was to come

* Cum Pansa vixi in Pompeiano. Is plane mihi probabat, se bene sentire & cupere pacem, &c. Ad Att. 14. 20. it. 15. 1.

† Velim mehercule Asturæ Brutus. [Ad Att. 14. 11.] Brutum apud me fuisse gaudeo: modo & libenter fuerit & sat diu. Ib. 15. 3.

‡ Testati edictis, libenter se vel in perpetuo exilio victuros, dum Reipub. constaret concordia, nec ullum belli civilis præbituros materiam, plurimum sibi honoris esse in conscientia facti sui, &c. [Vell. Pat. 2. 62.] Edictum Bruti & Cassii probo. [Ad Att. 14.

to Rome on the first of June, and take their places in the senate, if it should be thought advisable, or to present themselves, at least, in the rostra, and try the affections of the people, for whom Brutus was preparing a speech. They sent to know Cicero's opinion of this project, with the copy also of that speech which Brutus made in the Capitol, on the day of Cæsar's death, begging his revisal and correction of it, in order to its being published. Cicero, in his account of it to Atticus, says "the "oration is drawn with the utmost elegance both "of sensiments and style; yet, were I to handle "the subject, I should work it up with more fire. "You know the character of the speaker; for "which reason I could not correct it: for, in the "style in which our friend would excel, and ac-"cording to the idea which he has formed of the "best manner of speaking, he has succeeded so "well, that nothing can be better: but, whether I "am in the right or the wrong, I am of a quite "different taste. I wish, however, that you would "read it, if you have not already, and let me know "what you think of it; though I am afraid, lest, "through the prejudice of your name, you should "shew too much of the Attic in your judg-"ment: yet, if you remember the thunder of De-"mosthenes, you will perceive that the greatest "force may consist with the perfection of Attic "elegance*."

20.] De quibus tu bonam spem te habere significas propter edictorum humanitatem. Ib. 15. 1.

* Ad Att. 15. 1.

Atticus did not like the speech; he thought the manner too cold and spiritless for so great an occasion, and begged of Cicero to draw up another, to be published in Brutus's name: but Cicero would not consent to it, thinking the thing itself improper, and knowing that Brutus would take it ill*. In one of his letters on the subject, "Though you "think me in the wrong," says he, "to imagine "that the Republic depends on Brutus, the fact is "certainly so: there will either be none at all, or it "will be saved by him and his accomplices. As "to your urging me to write a speech for him, "take it from me, my Atticus, as a general rule, "which, by long experience, I have found to be "true, that there never was a poet or orator who "thought any one preferable to himself: this is the "case even with bad ones: what shall we think, "then, of Brutus, who has both wit and learning? "especially after the late experiment of him, in the "case of the edict. I drew up one for him, at "your desire: I liked mine; he his: besides, when, "at his earnest solicitation, I addressed to him my "treatise on the best manner of speaking, he wrote "word, not only to me, but to you too, that the "kind of eloquence which I recommended did not "please him. Let every one, therefore, compose "for himself——I wish only, that it may be in his "power to make a speech at all; for if ever he can "appear again with safety at Rome, we have "gained the victory†."

* Ib. 3. 4. † Ib. 14. 20.

In this interval, a new actor appeared on the stage, who, though hitherto but little considered, soon made the first figure upon it, and drew all people's eyes towards him, the young Octavius, who was left, by his uncle Cæsar, the heir of his name and estate. He had been sent, a few months before, to Apollonia, a celebrated academy, or school of learning, in Macedonia, there to wait for his uncle, on his way to the Parthian war, in which he was to attend him: but the news of Cæsar's death soon brought him back to Italy, to try what fortunes he could carve for himself, by the credit of his new name, and the help of his uncle's friends. He arrived at Naples on the eighteenth of April, whither Balbus went the next morning to receive him, and returned the same day to Cicero, near Cumæ, having first conducted Octavius to the adjoining villa of his father-in-law, Philip: Hirtius and Pansa were with Cicero at the same time, to whom they immediately presented Octavius, with the strongest professions, on the part of the young man, that he would be governed entirely by his direction*.

The sole pretension which he avowed, at present, was to assert his right to the succession of his uncle's estate, and to claim the possession of it: but

* Octavius Neapolim venit a. d. xiiii Kal. ibi eum Balbus mane postridie; eodemque die mecum in Cumano. [Ad Att. 14. 10.] Hic mecum Balbus, Hirtius, Pansa. Modo venit Octavius, & quidem in proximam villam Philippi mihi totus deditus. Ib. 11.

this was thought an attempt too hardy and dangerous for a mere boy, scarce yet above eighteen years old: for the Republican party had great reason to be jealous of him, lest, with the inheritance of the estate, he should grasp at the power of his uncle; and Antony still more, who had destined that succession to himself, and already seized the effects, lest, by the advantage of all that wealth, Octavius might be in a condition to make head against him. The mother, therefore, and her husband Philip, out of concern for his safety, pressed him to suspend his claim for a while, and not assume an invidious name, before he could see what turn the public affairs would take: but he was of too great a spirit to relish any suggestions of caution; declaring it base and infamous to think himself unworthy of a name, of which Cæsar had thought him worthy*: and there were many about him constantly pushing him on, to throw himself upon the affections of the city, and the army, before his enemies had made themselves too strong for him; so that he was on fire to be at Rome, and to enter into action; being determined to risk all his hopes on the credit of his name, and the friends and troops of his uncle.

Before he left the country, Cicero, speaking of him to Atticus, says, "Octavius is still with us,

* Non placebat Atiæ matri, Philippoque vitrico, adiri nomen invidiosæ fortunæ Cæsaris—sprevit cœlestis animus humana consilia—dictitans, nefas esse, quo nomine Cæsari dignus esset visus, sibimet ipsum videri indignum. Vell. Pat. 2. 60.

"and treats me with the greatest respect and "friendship: his domestics give him the name of "Cæsar: Philip does not; nor for that reason do "I. It is not possible for him, in my opinion, to "make a good citizen; there are so many about "him who threaten the death of our friends: they "declare, that what they have done can never be "forgiven. What will be the case, think you, "when the boy comes to Rome, where our deli-"verers cannot shew their heads? who yet must "ever be famous, nay, happy too, in the consci-"ousness of their act: but, as for us, unless I am "deceived, we shall be undone. I long, therefore, "to go abroad, where I may hear no more of these "Pelopidæ, &c*."

As soon as Octavius came to Rome, he was produced to the people by one of the tribunes, and made a speech to them from the rostra, which was now generally possessed by the enemies of Brutus, who were perpetually making use of the advantage, to inflame the mob against him: "Remember," says Cicero, "what I tell you: this custom of se-"ditious harangues, is so much cherished, that "those heroes of ours, or rather gods, will live, in-"deed, in immortal glory, yet not without envy,

* Nobiscum hic perhonorifice & amice Octavius: quem quidem sui Cæsarem salutabant, Philippus non; itaque ne nos quidem: quem nego posse bonum civem, ita multi circumstant, qui quidem nostris mortem minitantur. Negant hæc ferri posse, quid censes, cum Romam puer venerit, ubi nostri liberatores tuti esse non possunt? qui quidem semper erunt clari; conscientia vero facti sui etiam beati: sed nos, nisi me fallit, jacebimus. Itaque aveo exire, ubi nec Pelopidarum—Ad Att. 14. 12.

" and even danger: their great comfort however " is, the consciousness of a most glorious act: but " what comfort for us, who, when our king is " killed, are not yet free? But fortune must look " to that, since reason has no sway—*."

Octavius seconded his speech, by what was like to please the inferior part of the city much better; the representation of public shews and plays, in honor of his uncle's victories. Cæsar had promised and prepared for them in his life time; but those whom he had entrusted with the management, durst not venture to exhibit them after his death, till Octavius, as his heir and representative, undertook the affair, as devolved of course upon himself†. In these shews, Octavius brought out the golden chair, which, among the other honors decreed to Cæsar, when living, was ordered to be placed in the theatres and circus, as to a deity, on all solemn occasions‡. But the tribunes ordered the chair to be taken away, upon which the body of the knights testified their applause by a general clap. Atticus sent an account of this to Cicero, which was very agreeable to him§: but he was not

* Sed memento, sic alitur consuetudo perditarum concionum, ut nostri illi non Heroes, sed Dii, futuri quidem in gloria sempiterna sint, sed non sine invidia, ne sine periculo quidem: verum illis magna consolatio, conscientia maximi & clarissimi facti: nobis quæ, qui interfecto Rege liberi non sumus? sed hæc fortuna viderit, quoniam ratio non gubernat. Ad Att. 14. 11.

† Ludos autem victoriæ Cæsaris non audentibus facere, quibus obtigerat id munus, ipse edidit—Sueton. Aug. x. Dio. p. 272.

‡ Dio. 44. 243.

§ De Sella Cæsaris, bene Tribuni. Præclaros etiam xiv ordines. Ad Att. 15. 3.

at all pleased with Octavius's conduct, since it indicated a spirit determined to revive the memory, and to avenge the death of Cæsar; and he was the less pleased to hear, also, that Matius had taken upon him the care of these shews*; since it confirmed the suspicion which he had before conceived of Matius, and made him apprehensive that he would be an ill counsellor to young Octavius, in which light he seems to have represented him to Brutus. Matius was informed of these suspicions, and complained to their common friend Trebatius, of Cicero's unkind opinion, and unfriendly treatment of him, which gave occasion to the following apology from Cicero, and the answer to it from Matius, which is deservedly valued, not only for the beauty of its sentiments and composition, but for preserving to us a name and character, which was almost lost to history, of a most esteemed and amiable person, who lived in the first degree of confidence with Cæsar, and for parts, learning, and virtue, was scarce inferior to any of that age.

Cicero takes pains to persuade Matius that he had said nothing of him, but what was consistent with the strictest friendship; and, to gain the easier credit with him, prefaces his apology with a detail and acknowledgment of Matius's perpetual civilities, and observance of him through life, even when in the height of his power and credit with Cæsar: but when he comes to the point of the

* Ludorum ejus apparatus, & Matius ac Postumius procuratores non placent. Ad Att. 15. 2.

complaint, he touches it very tenderly, and observes only, in general, that as Matius's dignity exposed every thing which he did to public notice, so the malice of the world interpreted some of his acts more hardly than they deserved: that it was his care always to give the most favorable turn to them—"but you," says he, "a man of the "greatest learning, are not ignorant, that, if Cæsar "was, in fact, a king, as I indeed look upon "him to have been, there are two ways of consi-"dering the case of your duty: either that, which "I commonly take, of extolling your fidelity and "humanity, in shewing so much affection even to "a dead friend; or the other, which some people "use, that the liberty of our country ought to be "preferred to the life of any friend. I wish, that "you had heard with what zeal I used to defend "you in these conversations: but there are two "things especially, that make the principal part of "your praise, which no man speaks of more fre-"quently or more freely than I; that you, of all "Cæsar's friends, were the most active, both in "dissuading the civil war, and in moderating the "victory; in which I have met with nobody, who "does not agree with me, &c.*"

MATIUS to CICERO.

"Your letter gave me great pleasure, by letting "me see, that you retain still that favorable opinion

* Ep. Fam. xi. 27.

" of me, which I had always hoped and wished; " and though I had never indeed any doubt of it, " yet, for the high value that I set upon it, I was " very solicitous that it should remain always in- " violable: I was conscious to myself, that I had " done nothing which could reasonably give of- " fence to any honest man; and did not imagine, " therefore, that a person of your great and excel- " lent accomplishments could be induced to take " any without reason, especially against one who " had always professed, and still continued to pro- " fess, a sincere good will to you. Since all this " then stands just as I wish it, I will now give an " answer to those accusations, from which you, " agreeably to your character, out of your singu- " lar goodness and friendship, have so often de- " fended me. I am no stranger to what has been " said of me by certain persons, since Cæsar's " death: they call it a crime in me, that I am con- " cerned for the loss of an intimate friend, and " sorry that the man, whom I loved, met with so " unhappy a fate: they say, that our country " ought to be preferred to any friendship, as if " they had already made it evident that his death " was of service to the Republic: but I will not " deal craftily: I own myself not to be arrived at " that degree of wisdom; nor did I yet follow Cæ- " sar in our late dissensions, but my friend; whom, " though displeased with the thing, I could not " desert: for I never approved the civil war, or " the cause of it; but took all possible pains to " stifle it in its birth. Upon the victory, therefore,

"of a familiar friend, I was not eager either to advance, or to enrich myself: an advantage which others, who had less interest with him than I, abused to great excess. Nay, my circumstances were even hurt by Cæsar's law, to whose kindness, the greatest part of those, who now rejoice at his death, owed their very continuance in the city. I solicited the pardon of the vanquished, with the same zeal, as if it had been for myself. Is it possible, therefore, for me, who labored to procure the safety of all, not to be concerned for the death of him, from whom I used to procure it? especially, when the very same men, who were the cause of making him odious, were the authors, also, of destroying him. But I shall have cause, they say, to repent, for daring to condemn their act. Unheard-of insolence! that it should be allowed to some to glory in a wicked action, yet not to others, even to grieve at it without punishment. But this was always free even to slaves, to fear, rejoice, and grieve by their own will, not that of another; which yet these men, who call themselves the authors of liberty, are endeavoring to extort from us by the force of terror. But they may spare their threats: for no danger shall terrify me from performing my duty and the offices of humanity: since it was always my opinion, that an honest death was never to be avoided, often even to be sought. But why are they angry with me, for wishing, only, that they may repent of their act? I wish that all the world may regret Cæsar's death.

"But I ought, they say, as a member of civil society, to wish the good and safety of the Republic. If my past life and future hopes do not already prove that I wish it, without my saying so, I will not pretend to evince it by argument. I beg of you, therefore, in the strongest terms, to attend to facts rather than to words; and if you think it the most useful to one in my circumstances, that what is right should take place, never imagine that I can have any union or commerce with ill-designing men. I acted the same part in my youth, where to mistake would have been pardonable; shall I then undo it all again, and renounce my principles in my declining age? No; it is my resolution to do nothing that can give any offence; except it be, when I lament the cruel fate of a dear friend and illustrious man. If I were in different sentiments, I would never disown what I was doing; lest I should be thought, not only wicked for pursuing what was wrong, but false and cowardly for dissembling it. But I undertook the care of the shews, which young Cæsar exhibited for the victory of his uncle: this was an affair of private, not of public duty: it was, what I ought to have performed to the memory and honor of my dead friend; and what I could not, therefore, deny to a youth of the greatest hopes, and so highly worthy of Cæsar. But I go often also to the consul Antony's, to pay my compliments: yet you will find those very men go oftener to ask and receive favors, who reflect upon me for it, as dis-

" affected to my country. But what arrogance is " this? When Cæsar never hindered me from vi- " siting whom I would; even those whom he did " not care for; that they, who have deprived me of " him, should attempt, by their cavils, to debar " me from placing my esteem where I think proper. " But I am not afraid, that either the modesty of " my life should not be sufficient to confute all false " reports of me, for the future, or that they, who " do not love me, for my constancy to Cæsar, " would not chuse to have their friends resemble " me, rather than themselves. For my own part, " if I could have my wish, I would spend the re- " mainder of my days in quiet at Rhodes: but if " any accident prevent me, will live in such a man- " ner, at Rome, as always to desire that what is " right may prevail. I am greatly obliged to our " friend Trebatius, for giving me this assurance of " your sincere and friendly regard for me, and for " making it my duty to respect and observe a man, " whom I had esteemed always before with incli- " nation. Take care of your health, and preserve " me in your affection——*."

* Ep. Fam. xi. 28. This Cn. Matius lived long afterwards in such favor and familiarity with Augustus, as to be distinguished by the title of Augustus's friend. Yet he seems to have declined all public honors and business, and to have spent the remainder of his days in an elegant and pleasurable retreat; employing his time and studies in the improvements of gardening and planting, as well as in refining the delicacy of a splendid and luxurious life, which was the general taste of that age. For he first taught how to inoculate and propagate some of their curious and foreign fruits; and in-

Antony, all this while, was not idle; but pushed on his designs with great vigor and address: in his progress through Italy, his business was to gather up Cæsar's old soldiers from the several colonies and quarters in which they were settled; and by large bribes, and larger promises, to attach them to his interests, and draw great bodies of them towards Rome, to be ready for any purpose that his affairs should require. In the city, likewise, he neglected no means which his consular authority offered, how unjust or violent soever, of strengthening his power; and let all people now see, for what ends he had provided that decree, to which the senate had consented for the sake of peace, of confirming Cæsar's acts: for being the master, both of Cæsar's papers, and of his secretary Faberius, by whose hand they were written*, he had an opportunity of forging and inserting at pleasure whatever he found of use to him; which he practised without any reserve or management; selling publicly for money, whatever immunities were desired, by countries, cities, princes, or private men, on pretence that they had been granted by Cæsar, and entered into his books. This alarmed and shocked all honest men, who saw the mischief, but knew no remedy: Antony had the power, and

troduced the way of cutting trees and groves into regular forms: on which subjects he published several books, which are mentioned by the later writers. Vid. Columel. de re rust. l. 12. c. 44. init. Plin. Hist. l. 12. 2: 15. 14.

* τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῶν βεβυλευμένων ὁ Αντώνιος ἔχων, καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῦ Καίσαρος Φαβέριον ἐς πάντα οἱ πειθόμενον. App. l. 3. 529.

their own decree had justified it: Cicero complains of it heavily, in many of his letters, and declares it a thousand times better to die, than to suffer it*. "Is it so, then?" says he: "is all that our Brutus "has done come to this, that he might live at last "at Lanuvium, that Trebonius might steal away, "through private roads, to his province? That all "the acts, writings, sayings, promises, thoughts of "Cæsar, should have greater force now, than "when he himself was living?" All which he charges to that mistake of the first day, in not summoning the senate into the Capitol, where they might have done what they pleased, when their own party was uppermost, and these robbers, as he calls them, dispersed and dejected†.

Among the other acts which Antony confirmed, on the pretence of their being ordered by Cæsar, he granted the freedom of the city to all Sicily, and restored to King Deiotarus all his former dominions. Cicero speaks of this with great indignation; "O my Atticus," says he, "the ides of "March have given us nothing but the joy of re- "venging ourselves on him, whom we had reason "to hate—it was a brave act, but left imperfect— "you know what a kindness I have for the Sicili- "ans—that I esteem it an honor to be their pa-

* Ep. Fam. 12. 1. Ad Att. 14. 9.

† Itane vero? hoc meus & tuus Brutus egit, ut Lanuvii esset? ut Trebonius itineribus deviis proficisceretur in provinciam? ut omnia facta, scripta, dicta, promissa, cogitata Cæsaris plus valerent, quam si ipse viveret? &c. Ad Att. 14. 10.

"tron: Cæsar granted them many privileges, which "I did not dislike; though his giving them the "rights of Latium was intolerable: yet that was "nothing to what Antony has done, who, for a "large sum of money, has published a law, pre-"tended to be made by the dictator, in an assem-"bly of the people, though we never heard a sylla-"ble of it in his life-time, which makes them all ci-"tizens of Rome. Is not Deiotarus's case just the "same? He is worthy, indeed, of any kingdom, "but not by the grant of Fulvia: there are a thou-"sand instances of the same sort*." When this last act was hung up, as usual, in the Capitol, among the public monuments of the city, the forgery appeared so gross, that the people, in the midst of their concern, could not help laughing at it, knowing that Cæsar hated no man so much as Deiotarus. But the bargain was made in Fulvia's apartments, for the sum of eighty thousand pounds, by the king's agents at Rome, without consulting Cicero, or any other of their Master's friends: yet the old king, it seems, was beforehand with them, and no sooner heard of Cæsar's death, than he seized upon his dominions again by force. "He knew it," says Cicero, "to be an universal "right, that what tyrants had forcibly taken away, "the true owners might recover, whenever they "were able:—he acted like a man, but we con-"temptibly; who, whilst we hate the author, yet

* Ad Att. 14. 12.

"maintain his acts*." By these methods, Antony presently amassed infinite sums of money; for though, at the time of Cæsar's death, he owed, as Cicero told him, above three hundred thousand pounds, yet, within less than a fortnight after it, he had paid off the whole debt†.

There was another instance of his violence, which gave still greater offence to the city, his seizing the public treasure, which Cæsar had deposited, for the occasions of the government, in the temple of Opis, amounting to above five millions and a half of our money, besides what Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, from his private treasure, had delivered into his hands, computed at about another million. This was no extraordinary sum, if we consider the vastness of the mine from which it was drawn, the extent of the Roman empire, and that Cæsar was, of all men, the most rapacious in extorting it: Cicero, alluding to the manner in which it was raised, calls it a bloody and deadly treasure, gathered from the spoils and ruin of the subjects; which, if it were not restored, as it ought to be, to the true owners,

* Syngrapha H. S. centies per legatos,—sine nostra, sine reliquorum hospitum Regis sententia, facta in gynæceo: quo in loco plurimæ res venierunt, & veneunt—Rex enim ipse sua sponte, nullis commentariis Cæsaris, simul atque audivit ejus interitum, suo marte res suas recuperavit. Sciebat homo sapiens, jus semper hoc fuisse, ut, quæ Tyranni eripuissent, ea Tyrannis interfectis, ii quibus erepta essent, recuperarent—Ille vir fuit, nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus. Phil p. 2. 37.

† Tu autem quadringenties H. S. quod Idibus martiis, debu-

might have been of great service to the public, towards easing them of their taxes*.

But Antony, who followed Cæsar's maxims, took care to secure it to himself: the use of it was to purchase soldiers, and he was now in condition to outbid any competitor: but the first purchase that he made with it, was of his colleague Dolabella, who had long been oppressed with the load of his debts, and whom, by a part of this money, and the promise of a farther share in the plunder of the empire, he drew entirely from Cicero and the republican party, into his own measures. This was an acquisition worth any price to him: the general inclination both of the city and the country was clearly against him: the town of Puteoli, one of the most considerable of Italy, had lately chosen the two Brutusses and Cassius for their patrons†, and there wanted nothing but a leader to arm the whole empire in that cause: Dolabella seemed to be that very person, till bribed, as Cicero says, by force of money, he not only deserted, but overturned the Republic‡.

isti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Aprilis debere desisti?—Philip. 2. 37.

* Ubi est septies millies H. S. quod in tabulis, quæ sunt ad Opis patebat? funestæ illius quidem pecuniæ, sed tamen, si iis, quorum erat, non redderetur, quæ nos a tributis posset vindicare. Philip. 2. 37. it. Philip. 1. 7. it. Plut. in Ant.

† Vexavit Puteolanos, quod Cassium & Brutos Patronos adoptassent. Philip. 2. 41.

‡ Ut illum oderim, quod cum Rempub. me auctore defendere cœpisset, non modo deseruerit, emptus pecunia, sed etiam quantum in ipso fuit, everterit. Ad Att. 16. 15.

These proceedings, which were preparatory to the appointed meeting of the senate, on the first of June, began to open Brutus's eyes, and convince him of the mistake of his pacific measures, and favorable thoughts of Antony: he now saw that there was no good to be expected from him, or from the senate itself, under his influence; and thought it time, therefore, in concert with Cassius, to require an explicit account of his intentions, and to expostulate with him gently in the following letter.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS, Prætors, to M. ANTONIUS, Consul.

" If we were not persuaded of your sincerity and " good will to us, we should not have written this " to you; which, out of the kind disposition that " you bear to us, you will take, without doubt, in " good part. We are informed that a great multi- " tude of veteran soldiers is already come to Rome, " and a much greater expected there on the first of " June. If we could harbour any suspicion or " fear of you, we should be unlike ourselves: yet, " surely, after we had put ourselves into your " power, and, by your advice, dismissed the friends " whom we had about us, from the great towns, " and that not only by public edict, but by private " letters, we deserve to be made acquainted with " your designs, especially in an affair which relates " to ourselves. We beg of you, therefore, to let us

" know what your intentions are with regard to us. " Do you think that we can be safe in such a " crowd of veterans, who have thoughts, we hear, " even of rebuilding the altar, which no man can " desire or approve, who wishes our safety and ho- " nor? That we had no other view, from the first, " but peace, nor sought any thing else but the " public liberty, the event shews. Nobody can " deceive us, but you, which is not certainly agree- " able to your virtue and integrity; but no man " else has it in his power to deceive us. We trust- " ed, and shall trust, to you alone. Our friends " are under the greatest apprehensions for us; for " though they are persuaded of your integrity, yet " they reflect, that a multitude of veterans may " sooner be pushed on to any violence by others, " than restrained by you. We desire an explicit " answer to all particulars; for it is silly and tri- " fling to tell us, that the veterans are called toge- " ther, because you intend to move the senate in " their favor in June: for who do you think will " hinder it, when it is certain that we shall not?— " Nobody ought to think us too fond of life, when " nothing can happen to us, but with the ruin and " confusion of all things*."

During Cicero's stay in the country, where he had a perpetual resort of his friends to him, and where his thoughts seemed to be always employed on the Republic, yet he found leisure to write several of those philosophical pieces, which still subsist

* Ep. Fam. xi. 2.

both to the pleasure and benefit of mankind. For he now composed his Treatise on the Nature of the Gods, in three books, addressed to Brutus; containing the opinions of all the philosophers, who had ever written any thing on that argument: to which he bespeaks the attention of his readers, as to a subject of the last importance; which would inform them, what they ought to think of religion, piety, sanctity, ceremonies, faith, oaths temples, &c. since all these were included in that single question of the Gods*. He drew up, likewise, his discourse on divination, or the foreknowledge and prediction of future events, and the several ways, by which it was supposed to be acquired or communicated to man: where he explains, in two books, whatever could be said for and against the actual existence of the thing itself. Both these pieces are written in the way of dialogue; of which he gives the following account. "Since Carneades," says he, "has argued both acutely and copiously against divination, in answer to the Stoics, I am now enquiring what judgment we ought to form concerning it: and, for fear of giving my assent rashly to a thing, either false in itself, or not sufficiently understood, I think it best to do, what I have already done, in my three books on the nature of the Gods, weigh and compare diligently all the arguments with each other: for as rashness of assent and error is in all cases shameful, so most of all in that, where we are to judge

* De Nat. Deor. 1. 6.

"what stress is to be laid on auspices, and things "of a divine and religious nature; for the danger "is, lest, either by neglecting them, we involve "ourselves in an impiety, or by embracing them, "in an old woman's superstition*." He now also wrote his piece on the advantages of old age, called Cato, from the chief speaker in the dialogue: he addressed it to Atticus, as a lecture of common comfort to them both, in that gloomy scene of life on which they were entering; having found so much pleasure, he says, in writing it, that it not only eased him of all the complaints of age, but made age itself even agreeable and cheerful to him†. He added, soon after, another present of the same kind to Atticus, a Treatise on Friendship: a subject, he says, both worthy to be known to all, and peculiarly adapted to the case of their particular intimacy: "for, as I have already "written of age, an old man to an old man; so "now, in the person of a sincere friend, I write on "friendship to my friend." This is written also in dialogue, the chief speaker of which is Lælius; who, in a conversation with his two sons-in-law, Fannius and Scævola, upon the death of P. Scipio and the memorable friendship that had subsisted between them, took occasion, at their desire, to explain to them the nature and benefits of true friend-

* De Divin. I. 4.

† Mihi quidem ita jucunda hujus libri confectio, fuit, ut non modo omnes absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam & jucundam senectutem. Cato. 1.

ship. Scævola, who lived to a great age, and loved to retail his old stories to his scholars, used to relate to them, with pleasure, all the particulars of this dialogue, which Cicero having committed to his memory, dressed up afterwards in his own manner, into the present form*. Thus this agreeable book, which, when considered only as an invention or essay, is one of the most entertaining pieces in antiquity, must needs affect us more warmly, when it is found at last to be a history, or a picture drawn from the life, exhibiting the real characters and sentiments of the best and greatest men of Rome. He now also wrote his discourse on Fate; which was the subject of a conversation with Hirtius, in his villa near Puteoli, where they spent several days together in May: and he is supposed to have finished, about the same time, a translation of Plato's famous dialogue, called Timæus, on the Nature and Origin of the Universe.

But he was employing himself also upon a work of a different sort, which had been long upon his hands; A History of his Own Times, or rather of his own conduct; full of free and severe reflections on those who had abused their power, to the oppression of the Republic, especially Cæsar and Crassus. This he calls his Anecdote; a work not

* Digna mihi res tum omnium cognitione, tum nostra familiaritate visa est—sed ut tum ad senem senex de Senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus de amicitia scripsi—& cum Scævola—exposuit nobis sermonem Lælii de amicitia, habitum ab illo secum, & cum altero genero C. Fannio, &c.—de Amicit. 1.

to be published, but to be shewn only to a few friends, in the manner of Theopompus, an historian, famed for his severe and invective style*. Atticus was urging him to put the last hand to it, and to continue it down through Cæsar's government: but he chose to reserve this last part for a distinct history, in which he designed to vindicate, at large, the justice of killing a tyrant. We meet with several hints of this design in his letters: in one to Atticus, he says, "I have not yet polished my "Anecdote to my mind: as to what you would "have me add, it will require a separate volume; "but, believe me, I could speak more freely and "with less danger against that detested party, "whilst the tyrant himself was alive, than now, "when he is dead. For he, I know not why, in-"dulged me wonderfully: but now, which way "soever we stir, we are called back, not only "to Cæsar's acts, but to his very thoughts."— Again: "I do not well understand, what you "would have me write: is it, that the tyrant "was killed according to the strict laws of jus-"tice? Of that I shall both speak and write "my thoughts fully on another occasion†." His

* Ad Att. 2. 6. Dion. Halic. Procem. 1.

† Librum meum illum ἀνέκδοτον nondum, ut volui, perpolivi. Ista vero, quæ tu contexi vis, aliud quoddam separatum volumen expectant. Ego autem, credas mihi velim, minore periculo existimo contra illas nefarias partes vivo tyranno dici potuisse, quam mortuo. Ille enim nescio quo pacto ferebat me quidem mirabiliter. Nunc quacunque nos commovimus, ad Cæsaris

other friends also seem to have had some notice of this work; for Trebonius, in a letter to him from Athens, after reminding him of his promise to give him a place in some of his writings, adds, "I do not doubt, but that if you write any "thing on the death of Cæsar, you will give me "not the least share, both of that act, and of your "affection*." Dion Cassius says, that he delivered this book, sealed up, to his son, with strict orders not to read or publish it till after his death; but, from this time, he never saw his son, and left the piece, probably, unfinished; though some copies of it afterwards got abroad, from which his commentator, Asconius, has quoted several particulars†.

In the end of May, he began to move towards Rome, in order to assist at the senate on the first of June, and proposed to be at Tusculum on the twenty-sixth, of which he gave Atticus notice. There passed all the while a constant commerce of letters between him and Brutus, who desired a personal conference with him at Lanuvium; in which Cicero resolved to humor him, though he did not think it prudent at that time, when, without any

non modo acta, verum etiam cogitata revocamur. [Ad Att. 14. 17.] Sed parum intelligo quid me velis scribere—an sic ut in tyrannum jure optimo cæsum? multa dicentur, multa scribentur a nobis, sed alio modo ac tempore. Ib. 15. 3.

* Namque illud non dubito, quin, si quid de interitu Cæsaris scribas, non patiaris me minimam partem & rei & amoris tui ferre. Ep. Fam. 12. 16.

† Vid. Dio, p. 96. it. Ascon. in Tog. cand.

particular use, it would only give jealousy to Antony. But the nearer he came to the city, the more he was discouraged from the thoughts of entering it: he understood that it was filled with soldiers; that Antony came thither attended by a strong body of them; that all his views were bent on war; and that he designed to transfer the province of Gaul from D. Brutus to himself, by a vote of the people*. Hirtius dissuaded his going, and resolved to stay away himself; Varro sent him word that the veterans talked desperately against all those who did not favor them: Græceius also admonished him, on the part of C. Cassius, to be upon his guard, for that certain armed men were provided for some attempt at Tusculum. All these informations determined him at last not to venture to the senate, but to withdraw himself from that city, where he had not only flourished, he says, with the greatest, but lived even a slave, with some dignity†. The major part of the senate followed his example, and fled out of the city, for fear of some violence, leaving the consuls, with a few of

* Puto enim nobis Lanuvium eundum, non sine multo sermone.—Bruto enim placere, se a me conveniri. O rem odiosam & inexplicabilem! puto me ergo iturum—Antonii consilia narras turbulenta—sed mihi totum ejus consilium ad bellum spectare videtur, si quidem D. Bruto provincia eripitur. Ad Att. 15. 4.

† Hirtius jam in Tusculano est; mihique, ut absim, vehementer auctor est; & ille quidem periculi causa—Varro autem noster ad me epistolam misit—in qua scriptum erat, veteranos eos, qui rejiciantur—improbissime loqui; ut magno periculo Romæ sint futuri, qui ab eorum partibus dissentire videantur. Ib. 5.

their creatures, to make what decrees they thought fit*.

This turn of affairs made Cicero resolve to prosecute what he had long been projecting, his voyage to Greece, to spend a few months with his son at Athens. He despaired of any good from these consuls, and intended to see Rome no more till their successors entered into office; in whose administration he began to place all his hopes. He wrote, therefore, to Dolabella, to procure him the grant of an honorary lieutenancy; and lest Antony, an angry man, as he calls him, should think himself slighted, he wrote to him too on the same subject. Dolabella immediately named him for one of his own lieutenants, which answered his purpose still better, for, without obliging him to any service, or limiting him to any time, it left him at full liberty to go wherever he pleased; so that he readily accepted it, and prepared for his journey*. He heard, in the mean while, from Balbus, that the senate would be held again on the fifth; when commissions

Græceius ad me scripsit, C. Cassium ad se scripsisse, homines comparari, qui in Tusculanum armati mitterentur.—Id quidem mihi non videbatur; sed cavendum tamen. Ib. 15. 8.

Mihi vero deliberatum est, ut nunc quidem est, abesse ex ea urbe, in qua non modo florui cum summa, verum etiam servivi cum aliqua dignitate. Ib. 5.

* Kalendis Juniis cum in Senatum, ut erat constitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus. Philip. 2. 42.

† Etiam scripsi ad Antonium de legatione, ne, si ad Dolabellam solum scripsissem, iracundus homo commoveretur.—[Ad Att. 15. 8.] Sed heus tu,—Dolabella me sibi legavit, &c. Ib. 11.

would be granted severally to Brutus and Cassius, to buy up corn in Asia and Sicily, for the use of the Republic: and that it would be decreed also, at the same time, that provinces should be assigned to them, with the other prætors, at the expiration of the year*.

Their case, at this time, was very remarkable; it being wholly new in Rome to see prætors driven out of the city, where their residence was absolutely necessary, and could not legally be dispensed with for above ten days in the year: but Antony readily procured a decree to absolve them from the laws†; being glad to see them in a situation so contemptible; stript of their power, and suffering a kind of exile, and depending, as it were, upon him for their protection: their friends, therefore, at Rome, had been soliciting the senate for some extraordinary employment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight, and the disgrace of living in banishment, when invested with one of the first magistracies of the Republic‡.

* A Balbo redditæ mihi litteræ, fore Nonis Senatum, ut Brutus in Asia, Cassius in Sicilia, frumentum emendum & ad urbem mittendum curarent. O rem miseram! ait, eodem tempore decretum iri, uti is & reliquis Prætoriis provinciæ decernantur.—Ib. 9.

† Cur M. Brutus, te referente, legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plusquam decem dies abfuisset? Philip. 2. 13.

‡ Καὶ αὐτοῖς εἰς εὐπρέπειαν ἡ βουλὴ σίτου φροντίσαι προσέταξεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα φεύγειν νομίζοιντο. Appian Bell. Civ. l. 4. 622. it. l. 3. 530.

This was the ground of the commission just mentioned, to buy corn; which seemed, however, to be below their character, and contrived as an affront to them by Antony, who affected still to speak of them always with the greatest respect*. But their friends thought any thing better for them than to sit still in Italy, where their persons were exposed to danger from the veteran soldiers, who were all now in motion; and that this employment would be a security to them for the present, as well as an opportunity of providing for their future safety, by enabling them to execute, what they were now meditating, a design of seizing some provinces abroad, and arming themselves in defence of the Republic; which was what their enemies were most afraid of, and charged them with publicly, in order to make them odious. Cicero, in the mean time, at their desire, had again recommended their interests to Hirtius, who gave him the following answer.

"I wish that Brutus and Cassius could be prevailed with, by you, as easily to lay aside all "crafty counsels, as they can obtain, by you, from "me, whatever they desire. They were leaving "Italy, you say, when they wrote to you: whither? or wherefore? do not let them go, I beseech you, my dear Cicero, nor suffer the Republic to be wholly lost; though overwhelmed

* Frumentum imponere—quod munus in Rep. sordidius? [Ad Att. 15. x.] Patriæ liberatores urbe carebant—quos tamen ipsi Consules & in concionibus & in omni sermone laudabant. Philip. 1. 2.

"indeed already by these rapines, burnings, murders. If they are afraid of any thing, let them "be upon their guard; but act nothing offensively: "they will not, I am confident, gain a tittle the "more by the most vigorous, than the most pacific "measures, if they use but caution. The things "which are now stirring cannot last long; but, if "made the subject of war, will acquire present "strength to hurt. Let me know your opinion of "what may be expected from them."—Cicero sent him word, that he would be answerable for their attempting nothing desperate; and was informed, at the same time, by Balbus, that Servilia, Brutus's mother, had undertaken that they should not leave Ialy*.

Servilia, though sister to Cato, had been one of Cæsar's mistresses, and, next to Cleopatra, the most beloved of them all: in the civil war, he gave her several rich farms out of his Pompeian confiscations, and is said to have bought a single jewel for her at the price of about 50,000l†. She was a woman of spirit and intrigue, in great credit with the Cæsarian party, and at this very time possessed the estate and villa of Pontius Aquila, one of the conspirators, which had been confiscated, and granted to her by Cæsar. Cicero reckons it among

* Cui rescripsi nihil illos callidius cogitare, idque confirmavi —Balbus ad me—Serviliam confirmare non discessuros. Ad Att. 15. 6.

† Ante alias dilexit M. Bruti matrem Serviliam,—cui Sexagies H. S. margaritam mercatus est, &c. Sueton. J. Cæs. 50.

the solæcisms of the times, that the mother of the tyrant-killer should hold the estate of one of her son's accomplices*: yet she had such a share in all the counsels of Brutus, that it made Cicero the less inclined to enter into them, or to be concerned with one whom he could not trust: "When he "is influenced so much," says he, "by his mo-"ther's advice, or at least her entreaties, why "should I interpose myself†?"

At their desire, however, he went over to them at Antium, to assist at a select council of friends, called to deliberate on what was proper for them to do, with regard to this new commission. There were present, among others, Favonius, Servilia, Porcia, Brutus's wife, and his sister Tertulla, the wife of Cassius: Brutus was much pleased at his coming; and, after the first compliments, begged him to deliver his opinion to the company, on the subject of their meeting. Upon which he presently advised, what he had been considering on the road, that Brutus should go to Asia, and undertake the affair of the corn; that the only thing to be done at present was, to provide for their safety; that their safety was a certain benefit to the Republic——here Cassius interrupted him, and, with great fierceness in his looks, protested that he would

* Quin etiam hoc ipso tempore multa ὑποσόλοικα: Pontii Neapolitanum a matre tyrannoctoni possideri. Ad Att. 14. 21.

† Matris consilio cum utatur, vel etiam precibus, quid me interponam? Ad Att. 15. x.

not go to Sicily, nor accept, as a favor, what was intended as an affront; but would go to Achaia—Brutus said that he would go to Rome, if Cicero thought it proper for him—but Cicero declared it impossible for him to be safe there—"but suppos-"ing," says he, "that I could be safe:" "why "then," says Cicero, "I should advise it by all "means, as the best thing which you could do, "and better than any province."—After much discourse, and complaining for the loss of their opportunities, for which Cassius laid all the blame on D. Brutus, Cicero said, that though that was true, yet it was in vain to talk of what was past; and, as the case then stood, he saw nothing left but to follow his advice—to which they all at last seemed to agree, especially when Servilia undertook, by her mediation, to get the affair of the corn left out of their commission: and Brutus consented that the plays and shews, with which he was to entertain the city shortly, as prætor, should be given by proxy in his absence—Cicero took his leave, pleased with nothing in the conference, but the consciousness of having done his duty; for as to the rest, he gave all, he says, for lost; found the vessel, not only broken, but shattered to pieces; and neither prudence, reason, or design in what they were doing: so that if he had any doubt before, he had none now, but longed to get abroad as soon as possible*.

* Ad Att. 15. 11. 12.

Octavius, upon his coming to Rome, was very roughly received by Antony, who, despising his age, and want of experience, was so far from treating him as Cæsar's heir, or giving him possession of his estate, that he openly threatened and thwarted him in all his pretensions, nor would suffer him to be chosen tribune, to which he aspired, with the seeming favor of the people, in the room of that Cinna who was killed at Cæsar's funeral*. This necessarily drew the regard of the Republican party towards him, and Cicero began to take the more notice of him, in proportion as Antony grew more and more formidable: at present, he gives the following account of him. "Octavianus, I perceive, "has parts and spirit, and seems to be affected, as "we could wish, towards our heroes: but how far "we may trust his age, name, succession, educa-"tion, is a matter of great deliberation: his father-"in-law, who came to see me at Astura, thinks not "at all. He must be cherished, however, if for no-"thing else, yet to keep him at a distance from "Antony. Marcellus acts nobly, if he instils into "him a good disposition towards our friends: he "seemed to be much influenced by him, but to "have no confidence in Pansa and Hirtius: his na-"tural disposition is good, if it does but hold†."

* In locum Tribuni pl. forte demortui candidatum petitorem se ostendit—sed adversante conatibus suis M. Antonio Consule—Sueton. August. x. Dio. 272. App. 506.

† Ad Att. 15. 12.

In the midst of these affairs, with which his mind, as he complains, was much distracted, he pursued his literary studies with his usual ardor; and, to avoid the great resort of company, which interrupted him, at his house near Baiæ, he removed to his Pompeian villa, on the south side of Naples. Here he began his Book of Offices, for the use and instruction of his son, designed, he says, to be the fruit of this excursion: he composed also an Oration, adapted to the state of the times, and sent it to Atticus, to be suppressed or published at his discretion, promising him, withal, to finish, and send him, in a short time, his secret history, or anecdote, in the manner of Heraclides, to be kept close in his cabinet*.

Before he could leave Italy, he was obliged to return to Tusculum, to settle his private affairs, and provide his equipage, and wrote to Dolabella, to give orders for the mules and other necessaries, which the government used to furnish to those who went abroad with a public character†. Here Atticus and he took leave of each other, with all possible marks of the most sincere and tender affec-

* Nos hic φιλοσοφούμενα (quid enim aliud?) & τὰ περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος magnifice explicamus, προσφωνοῦμεν que Ciceroni; qua de re enim potius pater filio? Deinde alia. Quid quæres? Extabit opera peregrinationis hujus.—Ego autem in Pompeianum properabam, non quod hoc loco quidquam pulchrius, sed interpellatores illic minus molesti—

Orationem tibi misi. Ejus custodiendæ & proferendæ arbitrium tuum——jam probo Ἡρακλείδιον, præsertim cum tu tantopere delectere—enitar igitur—Ad Att. 15. 13. it. 14.

† Ib. 18.

tion. The unsettled condition of the times, and the uncertainty when, or in what circumstances, they should meet again, raised several melancholy reflections in them both, which, as soon as they parted, drew many tears from Atticus, of which he gave Cicero an account in his next letter, with a promise to follow him into Greece. Cicero answered him with equal tenderness: "It moved me," says he, "to hear of the tears which you shed af-
"ter you left me: had you done it in my presence,
"I should have dropped, perhaps, all thoughts of
"my journey. That part, however, pleases me,
"where you comfort yourself with the hopes of
"our meeting again shortly; which expectation,
"indeed, is what chiefly supports me: I will write
"to you perpetually; give you an account of every
"thing which relates to Brutus; send you, very
"shortly, my Treatise on Glory, and finish for you
"the other work, to be locked up with your trea-
"sure, &c*.

* Te, ut a me discesseras, lacrymasse, moleste ferebam. Quod si me præsente fecisses, consilium totius itineris fortasse mutassem. Sed illud præclare, quod te consolata est spes brevi tempore congrediendi: quæ quidem exspectatio me maxime sustentat. Meæ tibi litteræ non deerunt. De Bruto scribam ad te omnia. Librum tibi celeriter mittam de gloria. Excudam aliquid Ἡρακλείδιον, quod lateat in thesauris tuis. Ib. 27.

N. B. The Treatise, here mentioned, on Glory, which he sent soon after to Atticus, and published in two books, was actually preserved, and subsisting, long after the invention of printing, yet happened to perish, unhappily, for want of being produced into public light, by the help of that admirable art—Raimundus Superantius made a present of it to Petrarch, who, as he tells the

These little passages, from familiar letters, illustrate more effectually the real characters of men, than any of their more specious and public acts.—It is commonly thought the part of a statesman to divest himself of every thing natural, and banish every passion that does not serve his interest or ambition:—but here we see a quite different character; one of the greatest statesmen of the world, cherishing and cultivating in himself the soft and social affections of love and friendship, as knowing them to be designed equally by nature, for the comfort, as well of public as private life.

Atticus, likewise, whose philosophy was as incompatible as ambition, with all affections that did not terminate in himself, was frequently drawn, by the goodness of his nature, to correct the viciousness of his principle. He had often reproved

story, in one of his epistles, lent it to his schoolmaster, who, being old and poor, pawned it, for the relief of his necessities, into some unknown hand, whence Petrarch could never recover it, upon the old man's death. About two centuries after, it appeared to have been in the possession of Bernardus Justinianus, and was mentioned in the catalogue of his books, which he bequeathed to a monastery of nuns; but when it could not be found in that monastery, after the strictest search, it was generally believed that Petrus Alcyonius, who was physician to that house, and had the free use of the library, had stolen it; and, after transcribing as much of it as he could into his own writings, had destroyed the original, for fear of a discovery; it being observed, by the critics, that in his book de Exilio there were many bright passages, not well connected with the rest of the work, which seemed to be above his taste and genius. Vid. Petrarch. Epist. l. 15. 1. Rer. Senilium. Paull. Manut. Not. Ad Att. 15. 27. Bayle Dict. in Alcyonius. Menagiana. Vol. IV, p. 86.

Cicero for an excess of love to his daughter Tullia, yet he no sooner got a little Attica of his own, than he began to discover the same fondness, which gave Cicero occasion to repay his raillery with great politeness. "I rejoice," says he, "to per-"ceive that you take so much delight in your little "girl. I love her already myself, and know her "to be amiable, though I have never seen her. "Adieu then to Patro, and all your Epicurean "school." In another letter; "I am mightily "pleased with the fondness that you express for your "little daughter; and to see you feel, at last, that "the love of our children does not flow from habit "or fashion, but from nature: for if that be not "so, there can be no natural conjunction between "one man and another, without which all society "must necessarily be dissolved*."

There was now great expectation of the shews and plays, which Brutus, as prætor of the city, was going to exhibit, according to annual custom, in honor of Apollo, on the third of July; and all people were attentive and impatient to see in what manner they would be received. Brutus wrote to Cicero, to beg that he would grace them with his presence: but Cicero thought the request absurd, nor at all agreeable to Brutus's usual prudence. His answer was, that he was got too far upon his

* Filiolam tibi jam Romæ jucundam esse gaudeo; eamque, quam nunquam vidi, tamen & amo, & amabilem esse certo scio. Etiam atque etiam valete Patron & tui condiscipuli. Ad Att. 5. 19.—it. 7. 20.

journey to have it now in his power; and that it would be very improper for him, who had not been in Rome since it was filled with soldiers, not so much out of regard to his danger as his dignity, to run thither on a sudden to see plays: that, in such times as these, though it was reputable for those to give plays, whose office required it, yet for his seeing them, as it was not necessary, so neither would it be thought decent——*." He was heartily solicitous, however, that they might meet with all imaginable encouragement, and charged Atticus to send him a particular account of what passed, on each day, from their first opening.

The success of them answered all their hopes, for they were received with an incredible applause by all ranks, though Antony's brother Caius, as the next prætor in office, presided at them: one of the plays was, Tereus, a tragedy of Accius; which, having many strokes in it on the characters and acts of tyrants, was infinitely clapped by the people. Atticus performed his part to Cicero, and sent him a punctual account of what passed every day;

* In quibus unum alienum summa sua prudentia, id est illud, ut spectem ludos suos. Rescripsi scilicet, primum me jam profectum, ut non integrum sit. Dein ἄτοπώτατον esse, me, qui Romam omnino post hæc arma non accesserim, neque id tam periculi mei causa fecerim, quam dignitatis, subito ad ludos venire. Tali enim tempore ludos facere illi honestum est, cui necesse est: spectare mihi, ut non est necesse, sic ne honestum quidem est. Equidem illos celebrari, & esse quam gratissimos mirabiliter cupio—Ad Att. 15. 26.

which he constantly communicated to Brutus, who was now in his neighbourhood; in Nesis, a little isle, on the Campanian shore, the seat of young Lucullus.—In his answer to Atticus, "Your letters," says he, "were very acceptable to Brutus: "I spent several hours with him, soon after I re-"ceived them: he seemed to be delighted with the "account of Tereus; and thought himself more "obliged to the poet Accius, who made it, than to "the prætor Antony, who presided at it. But the "more joy you send us of this sort, the more in-"dignation it gives me, to see the Roman people "employ their hands in clapping plays, not in de-"fending the Republic. This, perhaps, may pro-"voke our enemies to discover themselves, before "they intended it; yet, if they be but mortified, I "care not by what means*." In a speech made afterwards to the senate, he urges this judgment of the city, as a proper lesson to Antony, to teach him the way to glory. "O happy Brutus," says he, "who, when driven from Rome, by force of "arms, resided still in the hearts and bowels of his "citizens, who made themselves amends for the

* Bruto tuæ litteræ gratæ erant. Fui enim apud illum multas horas in Neside, cum paullo ante tuas litteras accepissem. Delectari mihi Tereo videbatur; & habere majorem Accio, quam Antonio, gratiam. Mihi autem quo lætiora sunt, eo plus stomachi & molestiæ est, populum Romanum manus suas, non in defendenda Repub. sed in plaudendo consumere. Mihi quidem videntur, istorum animi incendi etiam ad repræsentandam improbitatem suam. Sed tamen dum modo doleant aliquid, doleant quodlibet. Ad Att. 16. 2.

" absence of their deliverer, by their perpetual ap-" plauses and acclamations*."

But there was one thing, which, through the inadvertency of Brutus's managers, or the contrivance of the prætor Antony, gave Brutus some uneasiness; that, in the edict for proclaiming his shews, the month, instead of Quintilis, was styled July, by its new name, lately given to it in honor of Cæsar; for it raised great speculation, and was thought strange, that Brutus, by edict, should acknowledge and confirm an act, contrived to perpetuate the honor of tyranny. This little circumstance greatly disturbed him, imagining, that it would be reflected upon as a mean condescension; and, since it could not be remedied as to the plays, he resolved to correct it for the rest of the shews; and gave immediate orders, that the huntings of the wild beasts, which were to follow, should be proclaimed for the thirteenth of Quintilis†.

While Cicero continued in these parts, he spent the greatest share of his time with Brutus; and as they were one day together, L. Libo came to them, with letters just received from young S. Pompey,

* Quid? Apollinarium ludorum plausus, vel testimonia potius, & judicia populi Romani parum magna videbantur? O beatos illos, qui cum adesse ipsis propter vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen, & in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus hærebant! nisi forte Accio tum plaudi—& non Bruto putabatis, &c. Philip. 1. 15.

† Quam ille doluit de Nonis Juliis! mirifice est conturbatus. Itaque sese scripturum aiebat, ut venationem etiam, quæ postridie ludos Apollinares futura est, proscriberent, III Id. Quintil.—Ad Att. 16. 4.

his son-in-law, with proposals of an accommodation, addressed to the consuls, on which he desired their opinion. Cicero thought them drawn with great gravity and propriety of expression, excepting a few inaccuracies, and advised only to change the address; and, instead of the consuls, to whom alone they were directed, to add the other magistrates, with the senate and people of Rome, lest the consuls should suppress them, as belonging only to themselves. These letters brought, in substance, that Pompey was now master of seven legions; that as he had just stormed a town called Borea, he received the news of Cæsar's death, which caused a wonderful joy, and change of affairs through the province of Spain, and a concourse of people to him from all parts. The sum of his demands was, that all who had the command of armies should dismiss them; but to Libo he signified, that, unless his father's estate and house at Rome, which Antony now possessed, were restored to him, he would agree to nothing*.

This overture from Pompey was procured chiefly by the management of Lepidus†: who, having the province of Spain assigned to him, where Pompey was very strong, had no mind to be engaged in a war at such a distance from Rome, and drawn off from attending to the main point in view, the event of affairs in Italy: for which purpose, on pretence of the public quiet, he made the offer of a treaty

* Ib. † Philip. 5. 13. 14, &c. it. Philip. 13, 4, 5, &c.

and honorable terms to Pompey, and that, on condition of laying down his arms, and quitting the province, he should be restored to all his estates and honors, and have the command of the whole naval power of Rome, in the same manner as his father had it before him: all which was proposed and recommended to the senate by Antony himself*. Where, to preserve a due respect to Cæsar's acts, by which Pompey's estates had been confiscated, it was decreed, that the same sum for which they had been sold, should be given to him by the public, to enable him to purchase them again: This amounted to above five millions and a half of our money, exclusive of his jewels, plate, and furniture; which being wholly embezzled, he was content to lose†. On these terms, ratified by the authority of the senate, Pompey actually quitted Spain, and came to Marseilles. The project was wisely concerted by Lepidus and Antony; for while it carried a shew of moderation, and disposition to peace, it disarmed a desperate enemy, who was in condition to give a great obstruction to their designs, and diversion to

* App. p. 528. Dio. l. 45. 275.

† Salvis enim actis Cæsaris, quæ concordiæ causa defendimus, Pompeio sua domus patebit, eamque non minoris, quam Antonius emit, redimet—decrevistis tantam pecuniam Pompeio, quantam ex bonis patriis in prædæ dissipatione inimicus victor redegisset—nam, argentum, vestem, supellectilem, vinum amittet æquo animo, quæ ille helluo dissipavit—atque illud septies millies, quod adolescenti, Patres conscripti, spopondistis, ita describetur, ut videatur a vobis Cn. Pompeii filius in patrimonio suo collocatus. Philip. 13. 5.

to their arms, at a time when the necessity of their interests required their presence and whole attention at home, to lay a firm foundation of their power, in the heart and centre of the empire.

There happened an incident, at this time, of a domestic kind, which gave some pleasure both to Cicero and Atticus; the unexpected conversion of their nephew Quintus. He had long ago deserted his father and uncle, and attached himself wholly to Cæsar, who supplied him liberally with money: on Cæsar's death he adhered still to the same cause, and was in the utmost confidence with Antony; and, as Atticus calls him, his right hand*; or the minister of all his projects in the city: but upon some late disgust, he began to make overtures to his friends, of coming over to Brutus, pretending to have conceived an abhorrence of Antony's designs; and signifying to his father, that Antony would have engaged him to seize some strong post in the city, and declare him dictator, and, upon his refusal, was become his enemy†. The father, overjoyed at this change, carried his son to Cicero, to persuade him of his sincerity, and to beg his intercession also with Atticus, to be reconciled to

* Quintus filius, ut scribis, Antonii est dextella. Ad Att. 14. 20.

† Quintus pater exultat lætitia. Scripsit enim filius, se idcirco profugere ad Brutum voluisse, quod cum sibi negotium daret Antonius, ut eum Dictatorem efficeret, præsidium occuparet, id recusasset; recusasse autem se, ne patris animum offenderet; ex eo sibi illum hostem.—Ad Att. 15. 21.

him: but Cicero, who knew the fickleness and perfidy of the youth, gave little credit to him; taking the whole for a contrivance only to draw money from them; yet, in compliance with their request, he wrote what they desired to Atticus, but sent him another letter, at the same time, with his real thoughts on the matter.

"Our nephew Quintus," says he, "promises to "be a very Cato. Both his father and he have been "pressing me, that I would undertake for him to you; yet so, that you should not believe him, "till you yourself had seen the effects of it. I "shall give him, therefore, such a letter to you as "he would have; but let it not move you, for I have "written this, lest you should imagine that I am "moved myself. The Gods grant that he may "perform what he promises; for it will be a com- "mon joy to us all. I will say nothing more of it "at present,*" &c.

But young Quintus got the better, at last, of all Cicero's suspicions; and, after spending several days with him, convinced him, by his whole behaviour and conversation, that he was in earnest: so that he not only recommended him very affectionately to Atticus, but presented him also to Brutus, to make the offer of his service to him in person. "If he had not

* Quintus filius mihi pollicetur se Catonem. Egit autem & pater & filius, ut tibi sponderem: sed ita, ut tum crederes, cum ipse cognosces. Huic ego litteras ipsius arbitratu dabo. Eæ ne te moverint; has scripsi in eam partem, ne me motum putares. Dii faxint, ut faciat ea, quæ promittit. Commune enim gaudium. Sed ego nihil dico amplius. Ad Att. 16. 1.

"wholly persuaded me," says he, "that what I "am saying of him is certainly true, I should not "have done what I am going to tell you; for I "carried the youth with me to Brutus, who was "so well satisfied with him, that he gave him full "credit, without suffering me to be his sponsor: in "commending him, he mentioned you in the kindest "manner, and at parting, embraced and kissed "him. Wherefore, though there is reason rather "to congratulate, than to entreat you, yet, I beg, "that whatever he may have done hitherto, through "the weakness of age, with more levity than be-"came him, you would believe it all to be now "over, &c*."

Quintus kept his word with them; and, to give proof of his zeal and sincerity, was so hardy, before the end of the year, as to undertake to accuse Antony to the people, for plundering the temple of Ops†. But this accident of changing his party, which gave so much joy at present to the whole family, though owing rather to a giddiness of temper, than any good principle, proved fatal, not long after, both to the young man and his father; as it seems to have been the most probable cause of their being proscribed and murdered the year fol-

* Quod nisi fidem mihi fecisset, judicassemque hoc quod dico firmum fore, non fecissem id, quod dicturus sum. Duxi enim mecum adolescentem ad Brutum: sic ei probatum est, quod ad te scribo, ut ipse crediderit, me sponsorem accipere noluerit. Eumque laudans amicissime tui mentionem fecerit. Complexus, osculatusque dimiserit. Ad Att. 16. 5.

† Quintus scribit, se ex Nonis iis, quibus nos magna gessimus, Ædem Opis explicaturum, idque ad populum. Ib. 14.

lowing, by Antony's order, together with Cicero himself.

Cicero was now ready for his voyage, and had provided three little yatchts or galleys to transport himself and his attendants: but as there was a report of legions arriving daily from abroad, and of pirates also at sea, he thought it would be safer to sail in company with Brutus and Cassius, who had drawn together a fleet of good force, which now lay upon the coast*. He gave several hints of this design to Brutus, who received it more coldly than he expected; and seemed uncertain and irresolute about the time of his own going. He resolved, therefore, to embark without farther delay, though in some perplexity to the last, about the expediency of the voyage, and jealous of its being censured, as a desertion of his country; but Atticus kept up his spirits, by assuring him, constantly, in his letters, that all people approved it at Rome, provided that he kept his word of returning by the first of the new year†.

He sailed slowly along the coast towards Rhe-

* Legiones enim adventare dicuntur. Hæc autem navigatio habet quasdam suspiciones periculi. Itaque constituebam uti ὁμοπλοΐᾳ. Paratiorem offendi Brutum, quam audiebam——Nam Cassii classem, quæ plane bella est, non numero ultra fretum. Ib. 16. 4.

† Bruto cum sæpe injecissem de ὁμοπλοΐᾳ, non perinde atque ego putaram, arripere visus est.—[Ib. 5.] Consilium meum quod ais quotidie magis laudari, non moleste fero; expectabamque, si quid ad me scriberes. Ego enim in varios sermones incidebam. Quin etiam idcirco trahebam, ut quam diutissime integrum esset. [Ib. 2.] It. Ep. Fam. xi. 29.] Scribis enim in cœlum ferri profectionem meam, sed ita, si ante Kal. Jan. redeam. Quod quidem certe enitar. [Ib. 6.] Ea mente discessi, ut adessem Kalendis Jan. quod initium cogendi Senatus fore videbatur. Philip. 1. 2.

gium, going ashore every night to lodge with some friend or client: he spent one day at Velia, the native place of Trebatius; whence he wrote a kind letter to him, dated the nineteenth of July, advising him by no means to sell that family estate, as he then designed, situated so healthfully and agreeably, and affording a convenient retreat from the confusion of the times, among a people, who entirely loved him*. At this place he began his Treatise of Topics, or the art of finding arguments on any question: it was an abstract of Aristotle's piece on the same subject; which Trebatius happening once to meet with in Cicero's Tusculan library, had begged of him to explain. But Cicero never found leisure for it till this voyage, in which he was reminded of the task by the sight of Velia; and though he had neither Aristotle, nor any other book to help him, he drew it up from his memory, and finished it as he sailed, before he came to Rhegium; whence he sent it to Trebatius, with a letter dated the twenty-seventh. He excuses the obscurity of it, from the nature of the argument, requiring great attention to understand, and great application to reduce it to practice: in which, however, he promises to assist him, if he lived to return, and found the Republic subsisting†.

In the same voyage, happening to be looking over his treatise on the Academic Philosophy, he

* Ep. Fam. 7. 20.

† Itaque ut primum Velia navigare cœpi, institui Topica Aristotelea conscribere, ab ipsa urbe commonitus, amantissima tui. Eum librum tibi misi Rhegio, scriptum quam plenissime illa res scribi potuit, &c. Ep. Fam. 7. 19.

observed the preface of the third book to be the same that he had prefixed to his book on Glory, which he had lately sent to Atticus. It was his custom, it seems, to prepare at leisure a number of different proems, adapted to the general view of his studies, and ready to be applied to any of his works, which he should afterwards publish; so that, by mistake, he had used this preface twice, without remembering it: he composed a new one, therefore, on ship-board, for the piece on Glory, and sent it to Atticus, with orders to bind it up with his copy in the place of the former preface*. So wonderful was his industry and love of letters,

* Nunc negligentiam meam cognosce. De Gloria librum ad te misi, at in eo procemium id est, quod in Academico tertio. Id evenit ob eam rem, quod habeo volumen procemiorum: ex eo eligere soleo, cum aliquod σύγγραμμα institui. Itaque jam in Tusculano, qui non meminissem me abusum isto procemio, conjeci id in eum librum, quem tibi misi. Cum autem in navi legerem Academicos, agnovi erratum meum, itaque statim novum procemium exaravi; tibi misi.—Ad Att. 16. 6.

N. B. A collection of prefaces prepared beforehand, and calculated indifferently for any treatise, will be thought, perhaps, a strange and fantastical way of composing: but though they had no necessary connexion with the subject of any particular work, they were yet adapted to the general view of his writings, and contrived, severally, to serve the different ends, which he proposed by the publication of them. Thus, in some, he takes occasion to celebrate the praises of his principal friends, to whom they were addressed: in others, to enter into a general defence of philosophy, in answer to those who censured him for spending so much time upon it: in some he represents the miserable state of the times, and subversion of the Republic, in a manner proper to alarm his citizens, and rouse them to assert their ancient liberty: in others, he contrives to give a beautiful description of some of his villas or gardens, where the scene of the dialogue was laid: all which the reader will find very agreeably executed in the prefaces of his philosophical pieces, which are yet connected so artfully with the treatises that follow them, and lead us so naturally into the argument, as if they had been originally contrived for the sake of

that neither the inconvenience of sailing, which he always hated, nor the busy thoughts which must needs intrude upon him, on leaving Italy in such a conjuncture, could disturb the calm and regular pursuit of his studies.

From Rhegium, or rather Leucopetra, a promontory, close by it, he passed over to Syracuse, on the first of August, where he staid but one night, though in a city particularly devoted to him, and under his special protection: but he was unwilling to give umbrage or suspicion, to those at Rome, of having any views abroad, which concerned the public*: he set sail, therefore, again the next morning towards Greece, but was driven back, by contrary winds, to Leucopetra; and, after a second attempt, with no better success, was forced to repose himself in the villa of his friend Valerius, and wait for the opportunity of a fair wind†.

Here the principal inhabitants of the country came to pay him their compliments; some of them fresh from Rome, who brought great news of an unexpected turn of affairs there, towards

introducing it. Vid. Tusc. Disp.—Init. de Divin. 2. 1. de Fin. 1. 1. de Leg. 2. 1.

* Kalendis sextil. veni Syracusas—quæ tamen urbs mihi conjunctissima, plus una me nocte cupiens retinere non potuit. Veritus sum, ne meus repentinus ad meos necessarios adventus suspicionis aliquid afferret, si essem commoratus. Philip. 1. 3.

† Cum me ex Sicilia ad Leucopetram, quod est promontorium agri Rhegini, venti detulissent; ab eo loco conscendi, ut transmitterem; nec ita multum provectus, rejectus austro sum in eum ipsum locum—[Ib.] ibi cum ventum expectarem: erat enim villa Valerii nostri, ut familiariter essem, & libenter—Ad Att. 16. 7.

a general pacification; that Antony seemed disposed to listen to reason, to desist from his pretensions to Gaul, submit to the authority of the senate, and make up matters with Brutus and Cassius; who had written circular letters to all the principal senators, to beg their attendance in the senate on the first of September, and that Cicero's absence was particularly regretted, and even blamed, at such a crisis*. This agreeable account of things made him presently drop all thoughts of pursuing his voyage, in which he was confirmed likewise by letters from Atticus, who, contrary to his former advice, pressed him now, in strong and pathetic terms, to come back again to Rome.

He returned, therefore, by the same course which he had before taken, and came back to Velia on the seventeenth of August: Brutus lay within three miles of it, with his fleet, and, hearing of his arrival, came immediately, on foot, to salute him: he declared himself exceedingly pleased with Cicero's return; owned that he had never approved, though he had not dissuaded, the voyage, thinking it indecent to give advice to a man of his experience, but now told him, plainly, that he had escaped two great imputations on his character; the one, of too

* Rhegini quidam, illustres homines eo venerunt, Roma sane recentes—hæc afferebant, Edictum Bruti & Cassii; & fore frequentem Senatum Kal. a Bruto & Cassio litteras missas ad Consulares & Prætorios; ut adessent, rogare. Summam spem nunciabant, fore, ut Antonius cederet, res conveniret, nostri Romam redirent. Addebant etiam me desiderari, subaccusari, &c.—Ad Att. Ib.

hasty a despair and desertion of the common cause; the other, of the vanity of going to see the Olympic games. This last, as Cicero says, would have been shameful for him, in any state of the Republic,—but, in the present, unpardonable; and professes himself, therefore, greatly obliged to the winds, for preserving him from such an infamy, and, like good citizens, blowing him back to the service of his country*.

Brutus informed him, likewise, of what had passed in the senate, on the first of August, and how Piso had signalized himself, by a brave and honest speech, and some vigorous motions in favor of the public liberty, in which nobody had the courage to second him: he produced also Antony's edict, and their answer to it, which pleased Cicero very much; but, on the whole, though he was still satisfied with his resolution of returning, yet he found no such reason for it as his first intelligence had suggested, nor any hopes of doing much service at Rome, where there was not one senator who had the courage to support Piso, nor Piso himself the resolution to appear in the senate again the next day†.

This was the last conference that he ever had with Brutus, who, together with Cassius, left Italy

* Nam xvi. Kal. Sept. cum venissem Veliam, Brutus audivit, erat enim cum suis navibus apud Heletem fluvium citra Veliam millia passuum III. pedibus ad me statim. Dii immortales, quam valde ille reditu, vel potius reversione mea lætatus est? Effudit illa omnia, quæ tacuerat—se autem lætari quod effugissem duas maximas vituperationes, &c.—Ad Att. 16. 7. Vid. it. Ep. Fam. 12. 25. it. ad Brut. 15.

† Vid. Ad Att. Ib. Philip. 1. 4. 5. Ep. Fam. 12. 2.

soon after it: they were both to succeed, of course, as all prætors did, at the expiration of their office, to the government of some province, which was assigned to them either by lot, or by an extraordinary decree of the senate. Cæsar had intended Macedonia for the one, and Syria for the other; but as these were two of the most important commands of the empire, and would throw a great power into their hands, at a time when their enemies were taking measures to destroy them, so Antony contrived to get two other provinces decreed to them, of an inferior kind,—Crete to Brutus, and Cyrene to Cassius, and, by a law of the people, procured Macedonia and Syria to be conferred upon himself, and his colleague, Dolabella; in consequence of which, he sent his brother Caius, in all haste, to possess himself of the first, and Dolabella to secure the second, before their rivals could be in condition to seize them by force, of which they were much afraid, taking it for granted, that this was the project which Brutus and Cassius were now meditating. Cassius had acquired a great reputation in the east, by his conduct in the Parthian war, and Brutus was highly honored in Greece, for his eminent virtue and love of philosophy: they resolved, therefore, to slight the petty provinces which were granted to them, and to try their fortunes in the more powerful ones that Cæsar had promised them; and, with that view, had provided the fleets abovementioned, to transport themselves to those countries, which they had destined for the scene of action; Brutus

to Macedonia, Cassius to Syria; where we shall soon have occasion to give a farther account of their success*.

Cicero, in the mean while, pursued his journey towards Rome, where he arrived on the last of the month: on his approach to the city, such multitudes flocked out to meet him, that the whole day was spent in receiving the compliments and congratulations of his friends, as he passed along to his house†. The senate met the next morning, to which he was particularly summoned by Antony, but excused himself by a civil message, as being too much indisposed by the fatigue of his journey. Antony took this as an affront, and, in great rage, threatened, openly in the senate, to order his house to be pulled down, if he did not come immediately; till, by the interposition of the assembly, he was dissuaded from using any violence‡.

The business of the day was to decree some new and extraordinary honors to the memory of Cæsar, with a religious supplication to him, as to a divinity: Cicero was determined not to concur in it, yet knew that an opposition would not only be fruitless, but dangerous; and for that reason staid away. Antony, on the other hand, was desirous to have him there, fancying, that he would either be frightened into a compliance, which

* Plut. in Brut. App. 527, 533. Philip. 2. 13, 38.

† Plut. in Cic.

‡ Cumque de via languerem, mihique displicerem, misi pro amicitia qui hoc ei diceret, at ille, vobis audientibus, cum fabris, se domum meam venturum esse dixit, &c. Philip. 1. 5.

would lessen him with his own party, or, by opposing what was intended, make himself odious to the soldiery; but, as he was absent, the decree passed without any contradiction.

The senate met again the next day, when Antony thought fit to absent himself, and leave the stage clear to Cicero*; who accordingly appeared, and delivered the first of those speeches, which, in imitation of Demosthenes, were called, afterwards, his Philippics—he opens it with a particular account of the motives of his late voyage, and sudden return; of his interview with Brutus, and his regret at leaving him: "At Velia," says he, "I saw Brutus: with "what grief I saw him, I need not tell you: I "could not but think it scandalous for me to re- "turn to a city, from which he was forced to re- "tire, and to find myself safe in any place, where "he could not be so: yet Brutus was not half so "much moved with it as I, but, supported by the "consciousness of his noble act, shewed not the "least concern for his own case, while he expressed "the greatest for yours."—He then declares, that he came to second Piso; and, in case of any accidents, of which many seemed to surround him, to leave that day's speech as a monument of his perpetual fidelity to his country†. Before he enters upon the state of the Republic, he takes occasion to complain of the unprecedented violence of Antony's treatment of him the day before, who would

* Veni postridie, ipse non venit. Philip. 5. 7.
† Philip. 1. 4.

not have been better pleased with him, had he been present; for he should never have consented to pollute the Republic with so detestable a religion, and blend the honors of the Gods with those of a dead man: he prays the Gods to forgive both the senate and the people for their forced consent to it—that he would never have decreed it, though it had been to old Brutus himself, who first delivered Rome from regal tyranny, and, at the distance of five centuries, had propagated a race from the same stock, to do their country the same service*. He returns thanks to Piso, for what he had said in that place the month before; wishes, that he had been present to second him; and reproves the other consulars for betraying their dignity, by deserting him.—As to the public affairs, he dwells chiefly on Antony's abuse of their decree, to confirm Cæsar's acts; declares himself still for the confirmation of them, not that he liked them, but for the sake of peace; yet, of the genuine acts only, such as Cæsar himself had completed; not the imperfect notes and memorandums of his pocket books; not every scrap of his writing; or what he had not even written, but spoken only, and that, without a voucher—he charges Antony with a strange inconsistency, in pretending such a zeal for Cæsar's acts, yet violating the most solemn and authentic of them, his laws; of which he gives several examples: thinks it intolerable, to

* Ib. 5. 6.

oblige them to the performance of all Cæsar's promises, yet annul so freely what ought to be held the most sacred and inviolable of any thing that he had done: he addresses himself pathetically to both the consuls, though Dolabella only was present; tells them, that they had no reason to resent his speaking so freely on the behalf of the Republic: that he made no personal reflections; had not touched their characters, their lives, and manners: that if he offended in that way, he desired no quarter*: but if, according to his custom, he delivered himself with all freedom on public affairs, he begged, in the first place, that they would not be angry; in the next, that if they were, they would express their anger, as became citizens, by civil, not military methods: that he had been admonished, indeed, not to expect, that the same liberty would be allowed to him, the enemy of Cæsar, which had been indulged to Piso, his father-in-law; that Antony would resent whatever was said against his will, though free from personal injury: if so, he must bear it, as well as he could—then, after touching on their plundering the Temple of Opis, of those sums which might have been of great service to the state, he observes, that whatever the vulgar might think, money was not the thing which they aimed at; that their souls were too noble for that, and had greater designs in view†; but they quite mistook the road to glory, if they thought it to

* Ib. 7. 11. † Ib. 12.

consist in a single man's having more power than a whole people—that to be dear to our citizens, to deserve well of our country, to be praised, respected, beloved, was truly glorious; to be feared and hated, always invidious, detestable, weak, and tottering—that Cæsar's fate was a warning to them, how much better it was to be loved, than to be feared: that no man could live happy, who held life on such terms, that it might be taken from him, not only with impunity, but with praise*. He puts them in mind, of the many public demonstrations of the people's disaffection to them, and their constant applauses and acclamations to those who opposed them, to which he begs them to attend with more care, in order to learn the way how to be truly great and glorious. —He concludes, by declaring, that he had now reaped the full fruit of his return, by giving this public testimony of his constant adherence to the interests of his country: that he would use the same liberty oftener, if he found that he could do it with safety; if not, would reserve himself, as well as he could, to better times, not so much out of regard to himself, as to the Republic.

In speaking afterwards of this day's debate, he says, "that whilst the rest of the senate behaved like slaves, he alone shewed himself to be free; and though he spoke, indeed, with less freedom than it had been his custom to do, yet it was with more than the dangers, with which he was threat-

* Ib. 14.

ened, seemed to allow*. Antony was greatly enraged at his speech, and summoned another meeting of the senate for the nineteenth, where he again required Cicero's attendance, being resolved to answer him in person, and justify his own conduct: for which end he employed himself, during the interval, in preparing the materials of a speech, and declaiming against Cicero in his villa near Tibur. The senate met on the appointed day, in the Temple of Concord, whither Antony came with a strong guard, and, in great expectation of meeting Cicero, whom he had endeavored, by artifice, to draw thither: but though Cicero, himself, was ready and desirous to go, yet his friends overruled and kept him at home, being apprehensive of some design intended against his life†.

Antony's speech confirmed their apprehensions, in which he poured out the overflowings of his spleen with such fury against him, that Cicero, alluding to what he had done a little before, in public, says, that he seemed once more rather to spew, than to speak‡. He produced Cicero's letter to him, about the restoration of S. Clodius,

* Locutus sum de Repub. minus equidem libere, quam mea consuetudo, liberius tamen quam periculi minæ postulabant. Philip. 5. 7.

In summa reliquorum servitute liber unus fui. Ep. Fam. 12. 25.

† Quo die, si per amicos mihi cupienti, in Senatum venire licuisset, cædis initium fecisset a me. Philip. 5. 7.

Meque cum elicere vellet in cædis causam, tum tentaret insidiis. Ep. Fam. 12. 25.

‡ Itaque omnibus est visus, ut ad te antea scripsi, vomere suo more, non dicere. Ib. 2.

in which Cicero acknowledged him, not only for his friend, but a good citizen; as if the letter was a confutation of his speech, and Cicero had other reasons for quarrelling with him now, than the pretended service of the public*. But the chief thing, with which he urged him, was, his being not only privy to the murder of Cæsar, but the contriver of it, as well as the author of every step, which the conspirators had since taken: by this he hoped to inflame the soldiers to some violence, whom he had planted for that purpose about the avenues of the temple, and within hearing even of their debates. Cicero, in his account of it to Cassius, says, that he should not scruple to own a share in the act, if he could have a share in the glory: but that, if he had really been concerned in it, they should never have left the work half finished†.

He had resided all this while in Rome, or the neighbourhood; but as a breach with Antony was now inevitable, he thought it necessary, for his security, to remove to a greater distance, to some of his villas near Naples. Here he composed his second Philippic, by way of reply to Antony; not delivered in the senate, as the tenor of it seems to imply, but finished in the country, nor intended to be published, till things were actually come to extremity, and the occasions of the Republic made

* Atque etiam litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit, &c. Philip. 2. 4.

† Nullam aliam ob caussam me auctorem fuisse Cæsaris interficiendi criminatur, nisi ut in me veterani incitentur. Ep. Fam. 12. 2. vid. 3, 4.

it necessary to render Antony's character and designs as odious as possible to the people. The oration is a most bitter invective on his whole life, describing it as a perpetual scene of lewdness, faction, violence, rapine, heightened with all the colors of wit and eloquence—it was greatly admired by the ancients, and shews that, in the decline of life, Cicero had lost no share of that fire and spirit, with which his earlier productions are animated: but he never had a cause more interesting, or where he had greater reason to exert himself: he knew, that in case of a rupture, for which alone the piece was calculated, either Antony or the Republic must perish; and he was determined to risk his own life upon the quarrel, nor bear the indignity of out-living a second time the liberty of his country.

He sent a copy of this speech to Brutus and Cassius, who were infinitely pleased with it: they now, at last, clearly saw, that Antony meditated nothing but war, and that their affairs were growing daily more and more desperate; and being resolved, therefore, to leave Italy, they took occasion, a little before their departure, to write the following letter in common to Antony.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS, Prætors, to ANTONY, Consul.

"IF you are in good health, it is a pleasure to us. "We have read your letter, exactly of a piece with

" your edict, abusive, threatening, wholly unwor-
" thy to be sent from you to us. For our part,
" Antony, we have never done you any injury;
" nor imagined that you would think it strange,
" that prætors, and men of our rank, should require
" any thing by edict of a consul: but if you are
" angry that we have presumed to do it, give us
" leave to be concerned, that you would not in-
" dulge that privilege, at least, to Brutus and Cas-
" sius: for as to our raising troops, exacting con-
tributions, soliciting armies, sending expresses
" beyond sea; since you deny that you ever com-
" plained of it, we believe you; and take it as a proof
" of your good intention: we do not, indeed, own
" any such practices; yet think it strange, when
" you objected nothing of that kind, that you could
" not contain yourself from reproaching us with the
" death of Cæsar. Consider with yourself, whether
" it is to be endured, that, for the sake of the public
" quiet and liberty, prætors cannot depart from
" their rights by edict, but the consul must pre-
" sently threaten them with arms. Do not think
" to frighten us with such threats: it is not agree-
" able to our character to be moved by any
" danger: nor must Antony pretend to command
" those, by whose means he now lives free. If
" there were other reasons to dispose us to raise a
" civil war, your letter would have no effect to
" hinder it: for threats can have no influence on
" those who are free. But you know, very well,
" that it is not possible for us to be driven to any

" thing against our will; and for that reason, per-" haps, you threaten, that whatever we do, it may " seem to be the effect of fear. These, then, are " our sentiments: we wish to see you live with " honor and splendor in a free Republic; have no " desire to quarrel with you; yet value our liberty " more than your friendship. It is your business " to consider again and again what you attempt, " and what you can maintain; and to reflect, not " how long Cæsar lived, but how short a time he " reigned: we pray the Gods, that your counsels " may be salutary, both to the Republic and to " yourself; if not, wish, at least, that they may " hurt you as little as may consist with the safety " and dignity of the Republic*."

Octavius perceived, by this time, that there was nothing to be done for him in the city against a consul, armed with supreme power, both civil and military; and was so far provoked by the ill usage which he had received, that, in order to obtain, by stratagem, what he could not gain by force, he formed a design against Antony's life, and actually provided certain slaves to assassinate him, who were discovered and seized, with their poignards, in Antony's house, as they were watching an opportunity to execute their plot. The story was supposed, by many, to be forged by Antony, to justify his treatment of Octavius, and his depriving him of the estate of his uncle: but all men of sense, as Cicero says, both believed and applauded it;

* Ep. Fam. xi. 3.

and the greatest part of the old writers treat it as an undoubted fact*.

They were both of them equally suspected by the senate, but Antony more immediately dreaded, on the account of his superior power, and supposed credit with the soldiers, whom he had served with, through all the late wars, and, on several occasions, commanded. Here his chief strength lay; and, to ingratiate himself the more with them, he began to declare himself more and more openly every day against the conspirators; threatening them in his edicts, and discovering a resolution to revenge the death of Cæsar; to whom he erected a statue in the rostra, and inscribed it, To the most worthy parent of his country. Cicero, speaking of this, in a letter to Cassius, says, "Your friend Antony grows every day more furious, as you see "from the inscription of his statue; by which he "makes you, not only murderers, but parricides. "But why do I say you, and not rather us? for "the madman affirms me to be the author of your "noble act. I wish that I had been, for, if I had, "he would not have been so troublesome to us as "at this time†.

* De quo multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adolescentis impetum faceret. Prudentes autem & boni viri & credunt factum & probant. [Ep. Fam. 12. 23.] Insidiis M. Antonii Consulis latus petierat. [Sen. de Clem. l. 1. 9.] Hortantibus itaque nonnullis percussores ei subornavit. Hac fraude deprehensa, &c. Sueton. August. x. Plut. in Anton.

† Auget tuus amicus furorem indies, primum in statua, quam posuit in rostris, inscripsit, PARENTI OPTIME MERITO. Ut non modo sicarii, sed jam etiam parricidæ judicemini. Quid dico judice-

Octavius was not less active in soliciting his uncle's soldiers, sparing neither pains nor money that could tempt them to his service; and, by outbidding Antony, in all his offers and bribes to them, met with greater success than was expected, so as to draw together, in a short time, a firm and regular army of veterans, completely furnished with all necessaries for present service. But as he had no public character to justify this conduct, which, in regular times, would have been deemed treasonable, so he paid the greater court to the Republican chiefs, in hopes to get his proceedings authorized by the senate; and, by the influence of his troops, procure the command of the war to himself: he now, therefore, was continually pressing Cicero, by letters and friends, to come to Rome, and support him, with his authority, against their common enemy, Antony; promising to govern himself, in every step, by his advice.

But Cicero could not yet be persuaded to enter into his affairs: he suspected his youth and want of experience, and that he had not strength enough to deal with Antony; and, above all, that he had no good disposition towards the conspirators: he thought it impossible that he should ever be a friend to them, and was persuaded rather, that, if ever he got the upper hand, his uncle's acts would be more violently enforced, and his death more

mini? judicemur potius. Vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuissem, molestus non esset. Ep. Fam. 12. 3.

cruelly revenged, than by Antony himself*. These considerations withheld him from an union with him, till the exigencies of the Republic made it absolutely necessary; nor did he consent at last, without making it an express condition, that Octavius should employ all his forces in defence of the common liberty, and particularly of Brutus and his accomplices, where his chief care and caution still was, to arm him only with a power sufficient to oppress Antony, yet so checked and limited, that he should not be able to oppress the Republic.

This is evident, from many of his epistles to Atticus: "I had a letter," says he, "from Octavia-"nus, on the first of November: his designs are "great: he has drawn over all the veterans of Ca-"silinum and Calatia; and no wonder;—he gives "sixteen pounds a man. He proposes to make the "tour of the other colonies: his view plainly is, to "have the command of the war against Antony; "so that we shall be in arms in a few days. But "which of them shall we follow? Consider his "name; his age: he begs to have a private confe-"rence with me at Capua, or near it: it is childish "to imagine that it could be private: I gave him "to understand, that it was neither necessary nor "practicable. He sent to me one Cæcina, of Vo-"laterræ, who brought word, that Antony was

* Valde tibi assentior, si multum possit Octavianus, multo firmius acta Tyranni comprobatum iri, quam in Telluris, atque id contra Brutum fore—sed in isto Juvene quanquam animi satis, auctoritatis parum est. Ad Att. 16. 14.

" coming towards the city, with the legion of the " Alaudæ*: that he raised contributions from all " the great towns, and marched with colors dis- " played: he asked my advice, whether he should " advance before him to Rome, with three thou- " sand veterans, or keep the post of Capua, and " oppose his progress there, or go to the three Ma- " cedonian legions, who were marching along the " upper coast, and are, as he hopes, in his interest: " —they would not take Antony's money, as this " Cæcina says, but even affronted and left him, " while he was speaking to them. In short, he of- " fers himself for our leader, and thinks that we " ought to support him. I advised him to march " to Rome; for he seems likely to have the meaner " people on his side, and, if he makes good what " he promises, the better sort too. O Brutus, " where art thou? What an opportunity dost thou " lose? I did not, indeed, foresee this, yet thought " that something like it would happen. Give me " your advice: shall I come away to Rome, stay " where I am, or retire to Arpinum? where I shall

* This legion of the Alaudæ was first raised by J. Cæsar, and composed of the natives of Gaul, armed and disciplined after the Roman manner, to which he gave the freedom of Rome. He called it by a Gallic name, Alaudæ, which signified a kind of lark, a little bird, with a tuft or crest rising upon its head, in imitation of which, this legion wore a crest of feathers on the helmet, from which origin the word was adopted into the Latin tongue. Antony, out of compliment to these troops, and to assure himself of their fidelity, had lately made a judiciary law, by which he erected a third class of judges, to be drawn from the officers of this legion, and added to the other two of the senators and knights; for which Cicero often reproaches him, as a most infamous prostitution of the dignity of the Republic—Philip. 1. 8.

" be the safest. I had rather be at Rome, lest, if " any thing should be done, I should be wanted: " Resolve, therefore, for me: I never was in greater " perplexity*."

Again:—" I had two letters, the same day, from " Octavius: he presses me to come immediately to " Rome; is resolved, he says, to do nothing with- " out the senate;—I tell him, that there can be no " senate till the first of January, which I take to " be true: he adds, also, not without my advice.— " In a word, he urges;— I hang back: I cannot " trust his age; do not know his real intentions; " will do nothing without Pansa; am afraid that " Antony may prove too strong for him, and un- " willing to stir from the sea, yet would not have " any thing vigorous done without me. Varro " does not like the conduct of the boy,—but I do. " He has firm troops, and may join with D. Bru- " tus: what he does, he does openly; musters his " soldiers at Capua; pays them. We shall have a " war, I see, instantly†."

Again:—" I have letters every day from Oc- " tavianus, to undertake his affairs: to come to " him at Capua; to save the state a second time: " he resolves to come directly to Rome.

" Urg'd to the fight, 'tis shameful to refuse,
" Whilst fear yet prompts the safer part to choose.

Hom. Il. η.

" He has hitherto acted, and acts still, with vigor,

* Ad Att. 16. 8. † Ib. 9.

" and will come to Rome with a great force. Yet " he is but a boy: he thinks the senate may be " called immediately: but who will come?—or, if " they do, who, in this uncertainty of affairs, will " declare against Antony?—he will be a good " guard to us on the first of January; or it may " come, perhaps, to blows, before. The great " towns favor the boy strangely: they flock to him " from all parts, and exhort him to proceed: could " you ever have thought it*?" There are many other passages of the same kind, expressing a diffidence of Octavius, and inclination to sit still, and let them fight it out between themselves; till the exigency of affairs made their union at last mutually necessary to each other.

In the hurry of all these politics, he was prosecuting his studies still, with his usual application, and, besides the second Philippic, already mentioned, now finished his Book of Offices, or the Duties of Man, for the use of his son†; a work admired by all succeeding ages, as the most perfect system of Heathen morality, and the noblest effort and specimen of what mere reason could do, towards guiding man through life with innocence and happiness. He now also drew up, as it is thought, his Stoical Paradoxes, or an illustration of the peculiar doctrines of that sect, from the examples and characters of their own countrymen, which he addressed to Brutus.

Antony left Rome about the end of September, in order to meet, and engage to his service, four

* Ad Att. 11. † Ib.

legions from Macedonia, which had been sent thither by Cæsar, on their way towards Parthia, and were now, by his orders, returning to Italy. He thought himself sure of them, and by their help to be master of the city: but, on his arrival at Brundisium, on the eighth of October, three of the legions, to his great surprise, rejected all his offers, and refused to follow him. This affront so enraged him, that, calling together all the centurions, whom he suspected of being the authors of their disaffection, he ordered them to be massacred in his own lodgings, to the number of three hundred, while he and his wife Fulvia stood calmly looking on, to satiate their cruel revenge by the blood of these brave men: after which, he marched back towards Rome, by the Appian Road, at the head of the single legion which submitted to him, whilst the other three took their rout along the Adriatic coast, without declaring yet for any side*.

He returned full of rage, both against Octavius and the republicans, and determined to make what use he could of the remainder of his consulship, in wresting the provinces and military commands out of the hands of his enemies, and distributing

* Ad d. VII. Id. Octob. Brundisium erat profectus, Antonius, obviam legionibus Macedonicis IIII, quas sibi conciliare pecunia cogitabat, easque ad Urbem adducere. Ep. Fam. 12. 23.

Quippe qui in hospitis tectis Brundisii fortissimos viros, cives optimos, jugulari jusserit: quorum ante pedes ejus morientium sanguine os uxoris respersum esse constabat. Philip. 3. 2.

Cum ejus promissis legiones fortissimæ reclamassent, domum ad se venire jussit Centuriones, quos bene de Repub. sentire cognoverat, eosque ante pedes suos, uxorisque suæ, quam secum gravis Imperator ad exercitum duxerat, jugulari coegit. Philip. 5. 8.

them to his friends. He published, at the same time, several fierce and threatening edicts, in which he gave Octavius the name of Spartacus; reproached him with the ignobleness of his birth; charged Cicero with being the author of all his counsels; abused young Quintus as a perfidious wretch, who had offered to kill both his father and uncle; forbade three of the tribunes, on pain of death, to appear in the senate, Q. Cassius, the brother of the conspirator, Carfulenus, and Canutius*. In this humor, he summoned the senate on the twenty-fourth of October, with severe threats to those who should absent themselves; yet he himself neglected to come, and adjourned it, by edict, to the twenty-eighth: but while all people were in expectation of some extraordinary decrees from him, and of one particularly, which he had prepared, to declare young Cæsar a public enemy†, he happened to receive the news that two of the legions from Brundisium, the fourth, and that which was called the martial, had actually declared for Octavius, and posted themselves at Alba, in the neighbourhood of Rome‡. This shocked him so much, that,

* Primum in Cæsarem ut maledicta congessit—ignobilitatem objicit C. Cæsaris filio.—[Philip. 3. 6.] Quem in edictis Spartacum appellat. [Ib. 8.] Q. Ciceronem, fratris mei filium compellat edicto—ausus est scribere, hunc de Patris & Patrui parricidio cogitasse. [Ib. 7.] Quid autem attinuerit, Q. Cassio—mortem denunciare si in Senatum venisset. D. Carfulenum—e Senatu vi & mortis minis expellere: Tib. Canutium—non templo solum, sed aditu prohibere Capitolii. Ib. 9.

† Cum Senatum vocasset, adhibuissetque Consularem, qui sua sententia C. Cæsarem hostem judicaret.—Philip. 5. 9. App. 556.

‡ Postea vero quam Legio Martia ducem præstantissimum vidit,

instead of prosecuting what he had projected, he only huddled over, what nobody opposed, the decree of a supplication to Lepidus; and the same evening, after he had distributed to his friends, by a pretended allotment, the several provinces of the empire, which few or none of them durst accept, from so precarious a title, he changed the habit of the consul for that of the general, and left the city with precipitation, to put himself at the head of his army, and possess himself, by force, of Cisalpine Gaul, assigned to him by a pretended law of the people against the will of the senate*.

On the news of his retreat, Cicero presently quitted his books and the country, and set out towards Rome: he seemed to be called by the voice of the Republic to take the reins once more into his hands. The field was now open to him: there was not a consul, and scarce a single prætor in the city, nor any troops from which he could apprehend danger. He arrived on the ninth of December, and immediately conferred with Pansa, for Hirtius lay very ill, about the measures proper to be taken on their approaching entrance into the consulship.

Before his leaving the country, Oppius had been with him, to press him again to undertake the af-

nihil egit aliud, nisi ut aliquando liberi essemus: quam est imitata quarta Legio. Philip. 5. 8.

Atque ea Legio consedit Albæ, &c. Philip. 3. 3.

* Fugere festinans S. C. de supplicatione per discessionem fecit—præclara tamen S. Cta. eo ipso die vespertina, provinciarum religiosa sortitio—L. Lentulus & P. Naso—nullam se habere provinciam, nullam Antonii sortitionem fuisse judicarunt. Philip. 3. 9. x.

fairs of Octavius, and the protection of his troops; but his answer was, that he could not consent to it, unless he were first assured that Octavius would not only be no enemy, but even a friend to Brutus: that he could be of no service to Octavius till the first of January, and there would be an opportunity before that time of trying Octavius's disposition in the case of Casca, who had been named by Cæsar to the tribunate, and was to enter upon it on the tenth of December: for, if Octavius did not oppose or disturb his admission, that would be a proof of his good intentions*. Oppius undertook for all this, on the part of Octavius, and Octavius, himself confirmed it, and suffered Casca, who gave the first blow to Cæsar, to enter quietly into his office.

The new tribunes, in the mean time, in the absence of the superior magistrates, called a meeting of the senate on the nineteenth: Cicero had resolved not to appear there any more, till he should be supported by the new consuls; but happening to receive, the day before, the edict of D. Brutus, by which he prohibited Antony the entrance of his province, and declared that he would defend it against him by force, and preserve it in its duty to

* Sed ut scribis, certissimum esse video discrimen Cascæ nostri Tribunatum: de quo quidem ipso dixi Oppio, cum me hortaretur, ut adolescentemque totamque causam, manumque veteranorum complecterer, me nullo modo facere posse, ni mihi exploratum esset, eum non modo non inimicum tyrannoctonis, verum etiam amicum fore; cum ille diceret, ita futurum. Quid igitur festinamus? inquam. Illi enim mea opera ante Kal. Jan. nihil opus est. Nos autem ante Id. Decemb. ejus voluntatem perspiciemus in Casca. Mihi valde assensus est.—Ad Att. 16. 15.

the senate, he thought it necessary, for the public service, and the present encouragement of Brutus, to procure, as soon as possible, some public declaration in his favor: he went, therefore, to the senate very early, which, being observed by the other senators, presently drew together a full house, in expectation of hearing his sentiments in so nice and critical a situation of the public affairs*.

He saw the war actually commenced in the very bowels of Italy, on the success of which depended the fate of Rome: that Gaul would certainly be lost, and with it, probably, the Republic, if Brutus was not supported against the superior force of Antony: that there was no way of doing it so ready and effectual, as by employing Octavius and his troops: and though the entrusting him with that commission would throw a dangerous power into his hands, yet it would be controlled by the equal power and superior authority of the two consuls, who were to be joined with him in the same command.

The senate being assembled, the tribunes acquainted them, that the business of that meeting was, to provide a guard for the security of the

* Cum Tribuni pleb. edixissent, Senatus adesset a. d. 13 Kal. Jan. haberentque in animo de præsidio Consulem designatorum referre, quanquam statueram in Senatum ante Kal. Jan. non venire: tamen cum eo ipso die edictum tuum propositum esset, nefas esse duxi, aut ita haberi Senatum, ut de tuis divinis in Remp. meritis sileretur, quod factum esset, nisi ego venissem, aut etiam si quid de te non honorifice diceretur, me non adesse. Itaque in Senatum veni mane. Quod cum esset animadversum, frequentissimi Senatores convenerunt. Ep. Fam. xi. 6.

new consuls, and the protection of the senate, in the freedom of their debates; but that they gave a liberty withal of taking the whole state of the Republic into consideration. Upon this Cicero opened the debate, and represented to them the danger of their present condition, and the necessity of speedy and resolute councils against an enemy, who lost no time in attempting their ruin. That they had been ruined, indeed, before, had it not been for the courage and virtue of young Cæsar, who, contrary to all expectation, and without being even desired to do, what no man thought possible for him to do, had, by his private authority and expence, raised a strong army of veterans, and baffled the designs of Antony: that if Antony had succeeded at Brundisium, and prevailed with the legions to follow him, he would have filled the city, at his return, with blood and slaughter: that it was their part to authorise and confirm what Cæsar had done; and to empower him to do more, by employing his troops in the farther service of the state; and to make a special provision also for the two legions, which had declared for him against Antony*. As to D. Brutus, who had promised, by edict, to preserve Gaul in the obedience of the senate, that he was a citizen born for the good of the Republic; the imitator of his ancestors; nay, had even exceeded their merit; for the first Brutus expelled a proud king; he a fellow subject, far

* Philip. 3. 1, 2.

more proud and profligate: that Tarquin, at the time of his expulsion, was actually making war for the people of Rome; but Antony, on the contrary, had actually begun a war against them. That it was necessary, therefore, to confirm, by public authority, what Brutus had done by private, in preserving the province of Gaul, the flower of Italy, and the bulwark of the empire—*. Then, after largely inveighing against Antony's character, and enumerating particularly all his cruelties and violences, he exhorts them, in a pathetic manner, to act with courage in defence of the Republic, or die bravely in the attempt: that now was the time either to recover their liberty, or to live for ever slaves: that if the fatal day was come, and Rome was destined to perish, it would be a shame for them, the governors of the world, not to fall with as much courage as gladiators were used to do, and die with dignity, rather than live with disgrace. He puts them in mind of the many advantages, which they had towards encouraging their hopes and resolution; the body of the people, alert and eager in the cause; young Cæsar in the guard of the city; Brutus of Gaul; two consuls of the greatest prudence, virtue, concord between themselves; who had been meditating nothing else, for many months past, but the public tranquillity: to all which he promises his own attention and vigilance, both day and night, for their safe-

* Ib. 4. 5.

ty*. On the whole, therefore, he gives his vote and opinion, that the new consuls, C. Pansa and A. Hirtius, should take care that the senate may meet with security on the first of January: that D. Brutus, emperor and consul elect, had merited greatly of the Republic, by defending the authority and liberty of the senate and people of Rome: that his army, the towns and colonies of his province should be publicly thanked and praised for their fidelity to him: that it should be declared to be of the last consequence to the Republic, that D. Brutus and L. Plancus, (who commanded the farther Gaul) emperor and consul elect, as well as all others, who had the command of provinces, should keep them in their duty to the senate, till successors were appointed by the senate: and since, by the pains, virtue, and conduct of young Cæsar, and the assistance of the veteran soldiers, who followed him, the Republic had been delivered, and was still defended from the greatest dangers; and since the martial and fourth legions, under that excellent citizen and quæstor Egnatuleius, had voluntarily declared for the authority of the senate, and the liberty of the people, that the senate should take special care that due honors and thanks be paid to them for their eminent services; and, that the new consuls, on their entrance into office, should make it their first business to see all this executed in proper form: to all which the House unanimous-

* Ib. 14, &c.

ly agreed, and ordered a decree to be drawn conformably to his opinion.

From the senate he passed directly to the forum, and, in a speech to the people, gave an account of what had passed: he begins, by signifying his joy 'to see so great a concourse about him, greater than he had ever remembered, a sure omen of their good inclinations, and an encouragement both to his endeavors and his hopes of recovering the Republic. Then he repeats, with some variation, what he had delivered in the senate, of the praises of Cæsar and Brutus, and the wicked designs of Antony: that the race of the Brutuses was given to them by the special providence of the Gods, for the perpetual defenders and deliverers of the Republic*: that, by what the senate had decreed, they had, in fact, though not in express words, declared Antony a public enemy: that they must consider him, therefore, as such, and no longer as consul: that they had to deal with an enemy, with whom no terms of peace could be made; who thirsted not so much after their liberty as their blood: to whom no sport was so agreeable, as to see citizens butchered before his eyes—That the Gods, however, by portents and prodigies, seemed to foretel his speedy downfal, since such a consent and union of all ranks against him could never have been effected, but by a divine influence†," &c.

* Philip. 4. 3. † Ib. 4. &c.

These speeches, which stand the third and fourth, in the order of his Philippics, were extremely well received both by the senate and people: speaking afterwards of the latter of them to the same people, he says, "if that day had put an end to my life, "I had reaped sufficient fruit from it, when you "all, with one mind and voice, cried out, that I "had twice saved the Republic*." As he had now broken all measures with Antony, beyond the possibility of a reconciliation, so he published, probably, about this time, his second Philippic, which had hitherto been communicated only to a few friends, whose approbation it had received.

The short remainder of this turbulent year was spent in preparing arms and troops for the guard of the new consuls, and the defence of the state: and the new levies were carried on with the greater diligence, for the certain news that was brought to Rome, that Antony was actually besieging Modena, into which Brutus, unable to oppose him in the field, had thrown himself, with all his forces, as the strongest town of his province, and the best provided to sustain a siege. Young Cæsar, in the mean while, without expecting the orders of the senate, but with the advice of Cicero, by which he now governed himself in every step, marched out of Rome, at the head of his troops, and followed Antony into the

* Quo quidem tempore, etiam si ille dies vitæ finem mihi allaturus esset, satis magnum ceperam fructum, cum vos universi una mente ac voce iterum a me conservatam esse Remp. conclamastis. Philip. 6. 1.

province, in order to observe his motions, and take all occasions of distressing him: as well as to encourage Brutus to defend himself with vigor, till the consuls could bring up the grand army, which they were preparing for his relief.

SECTION X.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

ON the opening of the year, the city was in great expectation, to see what measures their new consuls would pursue: they had been at school, as it were, all the summer to Cicero, forming the plan of their administration, and taking their lessons of government from him, and seem to have been brought entirely into his general view, of establishing the peace and liberty of the Republic, on the foundation of an amnesty. But their great obligations to Cæsar, and long engagements with that party, to which they owed all their fortunes, had left some scruples in them, which gave a check to their zeal, and disposed them to act with more moderation against old friends, than the condition of the times would allow; and, before the experiment of arms, to try the gentler method of a treaty. With these sentiments, as soon as they were inaugurated, they entered into a deliberation with the senate, on the present state of the Republic, in order to perfect what had been resolved upon at their last meeting, and to contrive some farther means for the security of the public tranquillity. They both spoke with great spirit and firmness, offering themselves as leaders, in asserting the liberty of their country, and exhorting the assembly to courage and resolution in the defence of so good a cause*: and when

* Ut oratio Consulum animum meum erexit, spemque attulit

they had done, they called upon Q. Fufius Calenus, to deliver his sentiments the first. He had been consul four years before, by Cæsar's nomination, and was father-in-law to Pansa, which, by custom, was a sufficient ground for paying him that compliment: Cicero's opinion was already well known; he was for the shortest and readiest way of coming at their end, by declaring Antony a public enemy, and, without loss of time, acting against him by open force: but this was not relished by the consuls, who called, therefore, upon Calenus, to speak first, that, as he was a fast friend to Antony, and sure to be on the moderate side, he might instil some sentiments of that sort into the senate, before Cicero had made a contrary impression. Calenus's opinion, therefore, was, that before they proceeded to acts of hostility, they should send an embassy to Antony, to admonish him to desist from his attempt upon Gaul, and submit to the authority of the senate: Piso and several others were of the same mind, alledging it to be unjust and cruel to condemn a man, till they had first heard what he had to say for himself.

But Cicero opposed this motion with great warmth, not only as vain and foolish, but dangerous and pernicious: he declared it dishonorable to treat with any one, who was in arms against his country, until he laid them down, and sued for peace; in which case no man would be more mo-

non modo salutis conservandæ, verum etiam dignitatis pristinæ recuperandæ. Philip. 5. 1.

derate or equitable than himself: that they had in effect proclaimed him an enemy already, and had nothing left but to confirm it by a decree, when he was besieging one of the great towns of Italy, a colony of Rome, and in it their consul elect, and general, Brutus: he observed from what motives those other opinions preceeded; from particular friendships, relations, private obligations; but that a regard to their country was superior to them all: that the real point before them was, whether Antony should be suffered to oppress the Republic; to mark out whom he pleased to destruction; to plunder the city, and enslave the citizens—*. That this was his sole view, he shewed from a long detail, not only of his acts, but of his express declarations:—for he had said, in the temple of Castor, in the hearing of the people, that whenever it came to blows, no man should remain alive, who did not conquer:—and in another speech, that when he was out of his consulship, he would keep an army still about the city, and enter it whenever he thought fit: that in a letter, which Cicero himself had seen, to one of his friends, he bade him to mark out for himself what estate he would have, and whatever it was, he should certainly have it†: that, to talk of sending embassadors to such an one, was to betray their ignorance of the constitution of the Republic, the majesty of the Roman people, and the discipline of their ancestors—‡: that whatever was the purpose of their message, it would

* Philip. 5. 1. 2. 3. † Ib. 8. 12. ‡ Ib. 9.

signify nothing: if to beg him to be quiet, he would despise it: if to command him, would not obey it:—that, without any possible good, it would be a certain damage; would necessarily create delay and obstruction to the operations of the war: check the zeal of the army; damp the spirits of the people; whom they now saw so brisk and eager in the cause:—that the greatest revolutions of affairs were effected often by trifling incidents; and, above all, in cival wars, which were generally governed by popular rumor: that how vigorous soever their instructions were to the embassadors, that they would be little regarded: the very name of an embassy implied a diffidence and fear, which was sufficient to cool the ardor of their friends*: they might order him to retire from Modena; to quit the province of Gaul; but this was not to be obtained by words, but extorted by arms;—that while the embassadors were going and coming, people would be in doubt and suspense about the success of their negociation; and, under the expectation of a doubtful war, what progress could they hope to make in their levies?—that his opinion, therefore, was to make no farther mention of an embassy, but to enter instantly into action: that there should be a cessation of all civil business; public tumult proclaimed; the shops shut up; and that, instead of their usual gown, they should all put on the sagum, or habit of war: and

* Ib. 10,

that levies of soldiers should be made in Rome, and through Italy, without any exception of privilege or dismission from service;—that the very fame of this vigor would restrain the madness of Antony, and let the world see that the case was not, as he pretended, a struggle only of contending parties, but a real war against the commonwealth:—that the whole Republic should be committed to the consuls, to take care that it received no detriment ——that pardon should be offered to those of Antony's army, who should return to their duty before the first of February——that if they did not come to this resolution now, they would be forced to do it afterwards, when it would be too late, perhaps, or less effectual*.

This was the sum of what he advised as to their conduct towards Antony: he next proceeded to the other subject of their debate; the honors which were ordered to be decreed at their last meeting, and began with D. Brutus, as consul elect; in favor of whom, besides many high expressions of praise, he proposed a decree to this effect———Whereas D. Brutus, emperor, consul elect, now holds the province of Gaul in the power of the senate, and people of Rome; and, by the cheerful assistance of the towns and colonies of his province, has drawn together a great army in a short time; that he has done all this rightly and regularly, and for the service of the state: and that it is the sense, therefore,

* Philip. 10. 12.

of the senate and people, that the Republic has been relieved, in a most difficult conjuncture, by the pains, counsel, virtue of D. Brutus, emperor, consul elect, and by the incredible zeal and concurrence of the province of Gaul. He moved also for an extraordinary honor to M. Lepidus, who had no pretension to it, indeed, from past services, but, being now at the head of the best army in the empire, was in condition to do the most good or ill to them of any man. This was the ground of the compliment; for, his faith being suspected, and his union with Antony dreaded, Cicero hoped, by this testimony of their confidence, to confirm him in the interests of the senate: but he seems to be hard put to it, for a pretext of merit to ground his decree upon: he takes notice, that Lepidus was always moderate in power, and a friend to liberty; that he gave a signal proof of it, when Antony offered the diadem to Cæsar; for, by turning away his face, he publicly testified his aversion to slavery, and that his compliance with the times was through necessity, not choice—that, since Cæsar's death, he had practised the same moderation; and when a bloody war was revived in Spain, chose to put an end to it, by the methods of prudence and humanity, rather than by arms and the sword, and consented to the restoration of S. Pompey*; for which reason he proposed the following decree:—— Whereas the Republic has often been well and happily administered by M. Lepidus, the chief

* Ib. 14.

priest, and the people of Rome have always found him to be an enemy to kingly government; and whereas, by his endeavors, virtue, wisdom, and his singular clemency and mildness, a most dreadful civil war is extinguished; and S. Pompey the great, the son of Cnæus, out of respect to the authority of the senate, has quitted his arms, and is restored to the city; that the senate and people, out of regard to the many and signal services of M. Lepidus, emperor, and chief priest, place great hopes of their peace, concord, liberty in his virtue, authority, felicity; and, from a grateful sense of his merits, decree, that a gilt equestrian statue shall be erected to him, by their order, in the rostra, or any other part of the forum which he shall choose*.— He comes next to young Cæsar, and, after enlarging on his praises, proposes, that they should grant him a proper commission and command over his troops, without which he could be of no use to them, and that he should have the rank and all the rights of a propraetor, not only for the sake of his dignity, but the necessary management of their affairs, and the administration of the war: and then offers the form of a decree.——Whereas C. Cæsar, the son of Caius, priest, propraetor, has, in the utmost distress of the Republic, excited and enlisted veteran troops, to defend the liberty of the Roman people: and whereas the martial and fourth legions,

* Philip. 15.

under the leading and authority of C. Cæsar, have defended, and now defend the Republic, and the liberty of the Roman people; and whereas C. Cæsar is gone, at the head of his army, to protect the province of Gaul; has drawn together a body of horse, archers, elephants, under his own and the people's power; and, in the most dangerous crisis of the Republic, has supported the safety and dignity of the Roman people; for these reasons, the senate decrees, that C. Cæsar, the son of Caius, priest, propraetor, be henceforward a senator, and vote in the rank and place of a prætor; and that, in soliciting for any future magistracy, the same regard be had to him, as would have been had by law, if he had been quæstor the year before*. As to those who thought these honors too great for so young a man, and apprehended danger from his abuse of them, he declares their apprehensions to be the effect of envy, rather than fear, since the nature of things was such, that he, who had once got a taste of true glory, and found himself universally dear to the senate and people, could never think any other acquisition equal to it: he wishes that J. Cæsar had taken the same course, when young, of endearing himself to the senate and honest men; but, by neglecting that, he spent the force of his great genius in acquiring a vain popularity, and, having no regard to the senate, and the better sort, opened himself a way to power, which

* Ib. 17.

the virtue of a free people could not bear:——that there was nothing of this kind to be feared from the son, nor, after the proof of such admirable prudence in a boy, any ground to imagine that his riper age would be less prudent:—for what greater folly could there be, than to prefer an useless power, an invidious greatness, the lust of reigning, always slippery and tottering, to true, weighty, solid glory?—If they suspected him as an enemy to some of their best and most valued citizens, they might lay aside those fears; he had given up all his resentments to the Republic; made her the moderatrix of all his acts; that he knew the most inward sentiments of the youth; would pawn his credit for him to the senate and people; would promise, engage, undertake, that he would always be the same that he now was; such as they should wish and desire to see him*. He proceeded also to give a public testimonial of praise and thanks to L. Egnatuleius, for his fidelity to the Republic, in bringing over the fourth legion from Antony to Cæsar; and moves, that it might be granted to him, for that piece of service, to sue for, and hold any magistracy, three years before the legal time†.—Lastly, as to the veteran troops, which had followed the authority of Cæsar and the senate, and especially the martial, and fourth leigions, he moved, that an exemption from service should be decreed to them and their children, except in the case of

* Philip. 18. † Ib. 19.

a gallic or domestic tumult; and that the consuls C. Pansa and A. Hirtius, or one of them, should provide lands in Campania, or elsewhere, to be divided to them; and that, as soon as the present war was over, they should all be discharged, and punctually receive whatever sums of money C. Cæsar had promised to them when they first declared for him.——

This was the substance of his speech; in the latter part of which, the proposal of honors, the senate readily agreed with him: and though those, which were decreed to Octavius, seemed so extraordinary to Cicero himself, that he thought it proper to make an apology for them, yet there were others, of the first rank, who thought them not great enough; so that Philippus added the honor of a statue; Ser. Sulpicius and Servilius the privilege of suing for any magistracy, still earlier than Cicero had proposed*. But the assembly was much divided about the main question, of sending a deputation to Antony: some of the principal senators were warmly for it; and the consuls themselves favored it, and artfully avoided to put it to the vote†; which would otherwise have been carried by Cicero, who had a clear majority on his side. The debate being held on till night, was ad-

* Statuam Philippus decrevit, celeritatem petitionis primo Servius, post majorem etiam Servilius: nihil tum nimium videbatur. Ad Brut. 15.

† Has in sententias meas si Consules discessionem facere voluissent, omnibus istis latronibus auctoritate ipsa Senatus jampridem de manibus arma cecidissent. Philip. 14. 7.

journed to the next morning, and kept up with the same warmth for three days successively, while the senate continued all the time in Cicero's opinion, and would have passed a decree conformable to it, had not Salvius, the tribune, put his negative upon them*. This firmness of Antony's friends prevailed, at last, for an embassy; and three consular senators were presently nominated to it, S. Sulpicius, L. Piso, and L. Philippus: but their commission was strictly limited, and drawn up by Cicero himself; giving them no power to treat with Antony, but to carry to him only the peremptory commands of the senate, to quit the siege of Modena, and desist from all hostilities in Gaul: they had instructions, likewise, after the delivery of their message, to speak with D. Brutus in Modena, and signify to him and his army, that the senate and the people had a grateful sense of their services, which would one day be a great honor to them†.

The unusual length of these debates greatly raised the curiosity of the city, and drew the whole body of the people into the forum, to expect the issue; where, as they had done also not long before, they

* Itaque hæc Sententia per triduum sic valuit, ut quamquam discessio facta non est, tamen præter paucos, omnes mihi assensuri viderentur. Philip. 6. 1. App. p. 559.

† Quamquam non est illa legatio, sed denunciatio belli, nisi paruerit—mittuntur enim qui nuncient, ne oppugnet Consulem designatum, ne Mutinam obsideat, ne Provinciam depopuletur—Philip. 6. 2.

Dantur mandata legatis, ut D. Brutum, militesque ejus adeant, &c. ib. 3.

could not forbear calling out upon Cicero with one voice, to come and give them an account of the deliberations*. He went, therefore, directly from the senate into the rostra, produced by Appuleius, the tribune, and acquainted them, in a speech, with the result of their debates,——that the senate, excepting a few, after they had stood firm for three days to his opinion, had given it up at last, with less gravity, indeed, than became them, yet not meanly or shamefully, having decreed not so much an embassy as a denunciation of war to Antony, if he did not obey it: which carried, indeed, an appearance of severity; and he wished only that it had carried no delay——that Antony, he was sure, would never obey it, nor ever submit to their power, who had never been in his own——that he would do, therefore, in that place, what he had been doing in the senate; testify, warn, and declare to them, before-hand, that Antony would perform no part of what their embassadors were sent to require of him ——that he would still waste the country, besiege Modena, and not suffer the embassadors themselves to enter the town, or speak with Brutus——" believe me," says he, " I know the violence, the " impudence, the audaciousness of the man—let " our embassadors then make haste, which I know " they are resolved to do; but do you prepare your " military habit; for it is a part also of our decree, " that, if he does not comply, we must all put on

* Quid ego de universo populo R. dicam? qui pleno ac referto foro bis me una mente atque voce in concionem vocavit. Philip. 7. 8.

" that garb: we shall certainly put it on: he will " never obey: we shall lament the loss of so many " days, which might have been employed in ac-" tion—*. I am not afraid, when he comes to " hear how I have declared this before-hand, that, " for the sake of confuting me, he should change " his mind and submit. He will never do it; will " not envy me this glory; will chuse rather, that " you should think me wise, than him modest:"— he observes, that though it would have been better to send no message, yet some good would flow from it to the Republic; for when the embassadors shall make the report, which they surely will make, of Antony's refusal to obey the people and senate, who can be so perverse, as to look upon him any longer as a citizen?—" Wherefore wait," says he, " with patience, citizens, the return of the " embassadors, and digest the inconvenience of a " few days: if on their return they bring peace, " call me prejudiced; if war, provident†." Then, after assuring them of his perpetual vigilance for their safety, and applauding their wonderful alacrity in the cause, and declaring, that of all the assemblies, which he had seen, he had never known so full a one as the present, he thus concludes, " The season of liberty is now come, " my citizens, much later, indeed, than became the " people of Rome; but so ripe now, that it cannot " be deferred a moment. What we have hitherto " suffered was owing to a kind of fatality, which

* Philip. 6. 1, 2, 3. † Ib. 4, 6.

" we have borne as well as we could; but if any " such case should happen again, it must be ow- " ing to ourselves: it is not possible for the people " of Rome to be slaves, whom the Gods have des- " tined to the command of all nations: the affair is " now reduced to the last extremity; the struggle " is for liberty: it is your part either to conquer, " which will surely be the fruit of your piety and " concord, or to suffer any thing rather than live " slaves: other nations may endure slavery; but " the proper end and business of the Roman people " is liberty."

The ambassadors prepared themselves immediately to execute their commission, and the next morning, early, set forward towards Antony, though Ser. Sulpicius was in a very declining state of health. Various were the speculations about the success of this message: but Antony gained one certain advantage by it, of more time, either to press the siege of Modena, or to take such measures as fresh accidents might offer: nor were his friends without hopes of drawing from it some pretence for opening a treaty with him, so as to give room to the chiefs of the Cæsarian faction to unite themselves against the senate and Republican party; which seemed to be inspired, by Cicero, with a resolution of extinguishing all the remains of the late tyranny. For this purpose, the partisans of that cause were endeavoring to obviate the offence, which might be given by Antony's refusal to comply with what was enjoined; contriving specious answers for him, and representing them as a reason-

able ground of an accommodation, in hopes to cool the ardor of the city for the prosecution of the war: Calenus was at the head of this party, who kept a constant correspondence with Antony, and took care to publish such of his letters as were proper to depress the hopes and courage of his adversaries, and keep up the spirits of his friends*.

Cicero, therefore, at a meeting of the senate, called in this interval about certain matters of ordinary form, took occasion to rouse the zeal of the assembly, by warning them of the mischief of these insinuations. He observed, that the affairs then proposed to their deliberation were of little consequence, though necessary in the common course of public business, about the Appian way, the coin, the Luperci, which would easily be adjusted; but that his mind was called off from the consideration of them by the more important concerns of the Republic——that he had always been afraid of sending the embassy—and now every body saw what a languor the expectation of it had caused in people's minds, and what a handle it had given to the practices of those, who grieved to see the senate recovering its ancient authority; the people united with them; all Italy on the same side; their armies prepared; their generals ready to take the field——who feign answers for Antony, and applaud them as if they had sent embassadors not

* Ille litteras ad te mittat de spe sua secundarum rerum? eas tu lætus proferas?—describendas etiam des improbis civibus?—eorum augeas animos? bonorum spem, virtutemque debilites?—Philip. 7. 2.

to give, but receive conditions from him. Then, after exposing the danger and iniquity of such practices, and rallying the principal abettor of them, Calenus, he adds, that he, who, all his life, had been the author and promoter of civil peace; who owed whatever he was, whatever he had to it; his honors, interest, dignity; nay, even the talents and abilities which he was master of; "yet I," says he, "the perpetual adviser of peace, am for "no peace with Antony,"—where, perceiving himself to be heard with attention—he proceeds to explain at large, through the rest of his speech, that such a peace would be dishonorable, dangerous, and could not possibly subsist:—he exhorts the senate, therefore, to be attentive, prepared, and armed beforehand; so as not to be caught by a smooth or suppliant answer, and the false appearance of equity: that Antony must do every thing which was prescribed to him, before he could pretend to ask any thing; if not, that it was not the senate which proclaimed war against him, but he against the Roman people. "But for you, fathers, "I give you warning," says he, "the question "before you concerns the liberty of the people of "Rome, which is entrusted to your care; it con-"cerns the lives and fortunes of every honest man; "it concerns your own authority; which you will "for ever lose, if you do not retrieve it now——I "admonish you too, Pansa; for though you want "no advice, in which you excel, yet the best pi-"lots, in great storms, are sometimes admonished

"by passengers: never suffer that noble provision "of arms and troops, which you have made, to "come to nothing: you have such an opportunity "before you, as no man ever had: by this firm- "ness of the senate, this alacrity of the equestrian "order, this ardor of the people, you have it in "your power to free the Republic for ever from "fear and danger—*."

The consuls, in the mean while, were taking care that the expectation of the effect of the embassy should not supersede their preparations for war; and agreed, between themselves, that one of them should march immediately to Gaul, with the troops which were already provided, and the other stay behind to perfect the new levies, which were carried on with great success, both in the city, and the country: for all the capital towns of Italy were vying with each other in voluntary contributions of money and soldiers, and in decrees of infamy and disgrace to those who refused to list themselves into the public service†. The first part fell by lot to Hirtius ‡; who, though but lately recovered from a dangerous indisposition, marched away, without loss of time, at the head of a brave army; and particularly of the two legions, the martial and the fourth, which were esteemed the flower

* Vid. Philip. 7.

† An cum municipiis pax erit, quorum tanta studia cognoscuntur in decretis faciendis, militibus dandis, pecuniis pollicendis —hæc jam tota Italia fiunt. Philip. 7. 8. 9.

‡ Consul sortitu ad bellum profectus A. Hirtius.—Philip. 14. 2.

and strength of the whole, and now put themselves under the command and auspices of the consul.—With these, in conjunction with Octavius, he hoped to obstruct all the designs of Antony, and prevent his gaining any advantage against Brutus, till Pansa could join them, which would make them superior in force, and enable them to give him battle, with good assurance of victory. He contented himself, in the mean while, with dispossessing Antony of some of his posts, and distressing him, by straightening his quarters, and opportunities of forage, in which he had some success, as he signified in a letter to his colleague Pansa, which was communicated to the senate: "I have possessed my-" self," says he, "of Claterna, and driven out An-" tony's garrison; his horse were routed in the ac-" tion, and some of them slain*." And, in all his letters to Cicero, he assured him, that he would undertake nothing without the greatest caution; in answer, probably, to what Cicero was constantly inculcating, not to expose himself too forwardly, till Pansa could come up to him†.

The embassadors returned about the beginning of February, having been retarded somewhat longer than they intended, by the death of Ser. Sulpicius, which, happening when they were just arrived at Antony's camp, left the embassy maimed and imperfect, as Cicero says, by the loss of the best

* Dejeci præsidium, Claterna potitus sum, fugati equites, prælium commissum, occisi aliquot. Philip. 8. 2.

† Hirtius nihil nisi considerate, ut mihi crebris litteris significat, acturus videbatur. Ep. Fam. 12. 5.

and ablest man of the three*. The report, which they made to the senate, answered exactly, in every point, to what Cicero had foretold;—that Antony would perform no part of what was required, nor suffer them even to speak with Brutus, but continued to batter the town with great fury, in their presence: he offered, however, some conditions of his own, which, contrary to their instructions, they were weak enough to receive from him, and lay before the senate: the purport of them was, that the senate should assign lands and rewards to all his troops, and confirm all the other grants which he and Dolabella had made in their consulship: that all his decrees, from Cæsar's books and papers, should stand firm: that no account should be demanded of the money taken from the temple of Opis, nor any enquiry made into the conduct of the seven commissioners, created to divide the lands to the veteran soldiers; and that his judiciary law should not be repealed: on these terms, he offered to give up Cisalpine Gaul, provided that he might have the greater Gaul, in exchange, for five years, with an army of six legions, to be completed out of the troops of D. Brutus†.

* Cum Ser. Sulpicius ætate illos anteiret, sapientia omnes, subito ereptus e caussa totam legationem orbam & debilitatam reliquit. Philip. 9. 1.

† Ante Consulis oculosque legatorum tormentis Mutinam verberavit—ne punctum quidem temporis, cum legati adessent, oppugnatio respiravit—cum illi contempti & rejecti revertissent, dixissentque Senatui, non modo illum e Gallia non discessisse, uti censuissemus, sed ne a Mutina quidem recessisse, potestatem sibi D. Bruti conveniendi non fuisse, &c. vid. Philip. 8. 7. 8. 9.

Pansa summoned the senate to consider the report of the embassadors, which raised a general indignation through the city, and gave all possible advantage to Cicero, towards bringing the house into his sentiments: but, contrary to expectation, he found Calenus's party still strong enough to give him much trouble, and even to carry some points against him; all tending to soften the rigor of his motions, and give them a turn more favorable towards Antony. He moved the senate to decree, that a war or rebellion was actually commenced: they carried it for a tumult: he urged them to declare Antony an enemy: they carried it for the softer term of adversary*: he proposed that all persons should be prohibited from going to Antony: they excepted Varius Cotyla, one of his lieutenants, who was then in the senate, taking notes of every thing which passed. In these votes Pansa himself, and all the consular senators, concurred; even L. Cæsar, who, though a true friend to liberty, yet, being Antony's uncle, thought himself obliged, by decency, to vote on the milder side†.

But Cicero, in his turn, easily threw out, what was warmly pressed on the other side, the proposal of a second embassy; and carried, likewise, the main question, of requiring the citizens to change their ordinary gown, for the sagum, or habit of

* Ego princeps Sagorum: ego semper hostem appellavi, cum alii adversarium: semper hoc bellum, cum alii tumultum, &c.—Philip. 12. 7.

† Vid. Philip. 8. 1. 10.

war: by which they decreed the thing, while they rejected the name. In all decrees of this kind, the consular senators, on the account of their dignity, were excused from changing their habit; but Cicero, to inculcate more sensibly the distress of the Republic, resolved to wave his privilege, and wear the same robe with the rest of the city*. In a letter to Cassius, he gives the following short account of the state of things at this time:—" We " have excellent consuls, but most shameful consu-" lars: a brave senate, but the lower they are in " dignity, the braver: nothing firmer and better " than the people, and all Italy universally: but " nothing more detestable and infamous than our " embassadors, Philip and Piso, who, when sent " only to carry the orders of the senate to Antony, " none of which he would comply with, brought " back, of their own accord, intolerable demands " from him; wherefore all the world now flock " about me, and I am grown popular in a salutary " cause, &c†."

The senate met again the next day, to draw into form and perfect what had been resolved upon

* Equidem, P. C. quamquam hoc honore usi togati solent esse, cum est in sagis civitas; statui tamen a vobis, cæterisque civibus in tanta atrocitate temporis—non differre vestitu. Philip. 8. 11.

† Egregios Consules habemus, sed turpissimos consulares: Senatum fortem, sed infimo quemque honore fortissimum. Populo vero nihil fortius, nihil melius, Italiaque universa. Nihil autem fœdius Philippo & Pisone legatis, nihil flagitiosius: qui cum essent missi, ut Antonio ex S. C. certas res nunciarent: cum ille earum rerum nulli paruisset, ultro ab illo ad nos intolerabilia postulata retulerunt. Itaque ad nos concurritur: factique jam in re salutari populares sumus. Ep. Fam. 12. 4.

in the preceding debate: when Cicero, in a pathetic speech, took occasion to expostulate with them for their imprudent lenity the day before: he shewed the absurdity of their scruples, about voting a civil war: that the word tumult, which they had preferred, either carried in it no real difference, or if any, implied a greater perturbation of all things*: he proved, from every step that Antony had taken and was taking; from every thing, which the senate, the people, the towns of Italy were doing and decreeing against him, that they were truly and properly in a state of civil war; the fifth, which had happened in their memory, and the most desperate of them all; being the first which was ever raised, not by a dissension of parties, contending for a superiority in the Republic, but against an union of all parties, to enslave and oppress the Republic†. He proceeds to expostulate with Calenus, for his obstinate adherence to Antony, and exposes the weakness of his pretended plea for it; a love of peace, and concern for the lives of the citizens:—he puts him in mind, that there was no juster cause of taking arms, than to repel slavery; that several other causes, indeed, were just, but this necessary: unless he did not take himself to be affected by it, for the hopes of sharing the dominion with Antony: if so, he was doubly mistaken; first, for preferring a private interest to the public; se-

* Philip. 8. 1. † Ib. 3.

condly, for thinking any thing secure, or worth enjoying in a tyranny:—that a regard for the safety of citizens was a laudable principle; if he meant the good, the useful, the friends to their country: but if he meant to save those, who, though citizens by nature, were enemies by choice; what difference was there between him and such citizens?—That their ancestors had quite another notion of the care of citizens; and when Scipio Nasica slew Tiberius Gracchus, when Opimius slew Caius Gracchus, when Marius killed Saturninus, they were all followed by the greatest and the best both of the senate and the people—that the difference between Calenus's opinion and his was not trifling, or about a trifling matter; the wishing well only to this or that man: that he wished well to Brutus; Calenus to Antony; he wished to see a colony of Rome preserved; Calenus to see it stormed: that Calenus could not deny this, who was contriving all sorts of delay, which could distress Brutus, and strengthen Antony—*. He then addressed himself to the other consulars, and reproached them for their shameful behaviour the day before, in voting for a second embassy, and said, that when the embassadors were sent, against his judgment, he comforted himself with imagining, that, as soon as they should return, despised and rejected by Antony, and inform the senate that he would neither retire from Gaul,

* Philip. 4—6.

nor quit the siege of Modena, nor even suffer them to speak with Brutus; that, out of indignation, they should all arm themselves immediately in the defence of Brutus; but, on the contrary, they were grown more dispirited, to hear of Antony's audaciousness; and their embassadors, instead of courage, which they ought to have brought, had brought back nothing but fear to them—*. "Good God," says he, "what is become of the "virtue of our ancestors?—When Popilius was "sent embassador to Antiochus, and ordered him, "in the name of the senate, to depart from Alexan-"dria, which he was then besieging; upon the "king's deferring to answer, and contriving delays, "he drew a circle round him with his staff, and "bade him give his answer instantly, before he stir-"red out of that place, or he would return to the se-"nate without it"—he then recites and ridicules the several demands made by Antony; their arrogance, stupidity, absurdity: and † reproves Piso and Philip, men of such dignity, for the meanness of bringing back conditions, when they were sent only to carry commands—he complains, that they paid more respect to Antony's embassador, Cotyla, than he to theirs: for, instead of shutting the gates of the city against him, as they ought to have done, they admitted him into that very temple, where the senate then sat; where, the day before, he was taking notes of what every man said, and

* Ib. 7. † Ib. 8, 9.

was caressed, invited, and entertained by some of the principal senators, who had too little regard to their dignity, too much to their danger. But what, after all, was the danger? which must end either in liberty or death: the one always desirable, the other unavoidable: while to fly from death, basely, was worse than death itself:—that it used to be the character of consular senators, to be vigilant, attentive, always thinking, doing, or proposing something for the good of the public: that he remembered old Scævola in the Marsic war, how, in the extremity of age, oppressed with years and infirmities, he gave free access to every body; was never seen in his bed; always the first in the senate: he wished that they all would imitate such industry; or, at least, not envy those who did*: that, since they had now suffered a six year's slavery, a longer term than honest and industrious slaves used to serve, what watchings, what solicitude, what pains ought they to refuse, for the sake of giving liberty to the Roman people? He concludes, by adding a clause to their last decree; to grant pardon and impunity to all who should desert Antony, and return to their duty, by the fifteenth of March: or, if any who continued with him, should do any service worthy of reward, that one or both the consuls should take the first opportunity to move the senate in their favor: but if any person, from this time, should go over to An-

* Philip. 10.

tony, except Cotyla, that the senate would consider him as an enemy to his country.

The public debates being thus adjusted, Pansa called the senate together again the next day, to deliberate on some proper honors to be decreed to the memory of Ser. Sulpicius, who died upon the embassy—he spoke largely in his praise, and advised to pay him all the honors which had ever been decreed to any, who had lost their lives in the service of their country: a public funeral, sepulchre, and statue. Servilius, who spoke next, agreed to a funeral and monument, but was against a statue, as due only to those who had been killed by violence, in the discharge of their embassies. Cicero was not content with this, but, out of private friendship to the man, as well as a regard to the public service, resolved to have all the honors paid to him, which the occasion could possibly justify: in answer, therefore, to Servilius, he shewed, with his usual eloquence, that the case of Sulpicius was the same with the case of those who had been killed on the account of their embassies: that the embassy itself had killed him: that he set out upon it in so weak a condition, that though he had some hopes of coming to Antony, he had none of returning: and when he was just arrived to the congress, expired in the very act of executing his commission*: that it was not the manner, but the cause of the death, which their ancestors regarded: if it

* Ib. 9. 1.

was caused by the embassy, they granted a public monument, to encourage their fellow citizens, in dangerous wars, to undertake that employment with cheerfulness: that several statues had been erected on that account; which none had ever merited better than Sulpicius—that there could be no doubt but that the embassy had killed him; and that he had carried out death along with him, which he might have escaped by staying at home, under the care of his wife and children—*. But when he saw, that, if he did not obey the authority of the senate, he should be unlike to himself; and, if he did obey, must necessarily lose his life, he chose, in so critical a state of the Republic, rather to die than seem to decline any service, which he could possibly do: that he had many opportunities of refreshing and reposing himself in the cities through which he passed, and was pressed to it by his colleagues; but, in spite of his distemper, persevered to death in the resolution of urging his journey, and hastening to perform the commands of the senate—that, if they recollected how he endeavored to excuse himslf from the task, when it was first moved in the senate, they must needs think, that this honor to him, when dead, was but a necessary amends for the injury which they had done to him when living: for, though it was harsh to be said, yet he must say it, that it was they who had killed him, by over-ruling his ex-

* Philip. 3.

cuse, when they saw it grounded, not on a feigned, but a real sickness: and when, to their remonstrance, the consul Pansa joined his exhortation, with a gravity and force of speech which his ears had not learnt to bear; "then," says he, "he took his son "and me aside, and professed, that he could not help "preferring your authority to his own life: we, "through admiration of his virtue, durst not venture "to oppose his will: his son was tenderly moved, "nor was my concern much less; yet both of us "were obliged to give way to the greatness of his "mind, and the force of his reasoning: when, to "the joy of you all, he promised that he would do "whatever you prescribed, nor would decline the "danger of that vote, of which he himself had been "the proposer—restore life, therefore, to him from "whom you have taken it: for the life of the dead "is in the memory of the living: take care, that he, "whom you unwillingly sent to his death, receive an "immortality from you: for if you decree a statue "to him in the rostra, the remembrance of his embassy will remain to all posterity—*." Then, after illustrating the great virtues, talents, and excellent character of Sulpicius, he observes, that all these would be perpetuated by their own merit and effects, and that the statue was the monument rather of the gratitude of the senate, than of the fame of the man; of a public rather than of a private signification; an eternal testimony of Antony's audaci-

* Ib. 4. 5.

ousness; of his waging an impious war against his country; of his rejecting the embassy of the senate—*. For which reasons he proposed a decree, that a statue of brass should be erected to him in the rostra, by order of the senate, and the cause inscribed on the base, that he died in the service of the Republic, with an area of five feet, on all sides of it, for his children and posterity to see the shews of gladiators—that a magnificent funeral should be made for him, at the public charge, and the consul Pansa should assign him a place of burial, in the Esquiline field, with an area of thirty feet every way, to be granted publicly, as a sepulchre for him, his children, and posterity.—The senate agreed to what Cicero desired, and the statue itself, as we are told by a writer of the third century, remained, to his time, in the rostra of Augustus†.

Sulpicius was of a noble and patrician family, of the same age, the same studies, and the same principles with Cicero, with whom he kept up a perpetual friendship. They went through their exercises together when young, both at Rome, and at Rhodes, in the celebrated school of Molo: whence he became an eminent pleader of causes, and passed through all the great offices of the state, with a singular reputation of wisdom, learning, integrity; a constant admirer of the modesty of the ancients; and a reprover of the insolence of his own times.

* Philip. 5. 6. † Pomponius de origine juris.

When he could not arrive at the first degree of fame as an orator, he resolved to excel in what was next to it, the character of a lawyer; chusing rather to be the first in the second art, than the second only in the first; leaving, therefore, to his friend Cicero the field of eloquence, he contented himself with such a share of it, as was sufficient to sustain and adorn the profession of the law. In this he succeeded to his wish, and was far superior to all who had ever professed it in Rome; being the first who reduced it to a proper science, or rational system; and added light and method to that, which all others before him had taught darkly and confusedly. Nor was his knowledge confined to the external forms, or the effects of the municipal laws; but enlarged by a comprehensive view of universal equity, which he made the interpreter of its sanctions, and the rule of all his decisions; yet he was always better pleased to put an amicable end to a controversy, than to direct a process at law. In his political behaviour, he was always a friend to peace and liberty; moderating the violence of opposite parties, and discouraging every step towards civil dissention; and, in the late war, was so busy in contriving projects of an accommodation, that he gained the name of the peace-maker. Through a natural timidity of temper, confirmed by a profession and course of life averse from arms, though he preferred Pompey's cause as the best, he did not care to fight for it; but taking Cæsar's to be the strongest, suffered his son to follow that camp, while he himself continued

quiet and neuter: for this he was honored by Cæsar, yet could never be induced to approve his government. From the time of Cæsar's death, he continued still to advise and promote all measures which seemed likely to establish the public concord; and died, at last, as he had lived, in the very act and office of peace-making*.

The senate had heard nothing of Brutus and Cassius, from the time of their leaving Italy, till Brutus now sent public letters to the consuls, giv-

* Non facile quem dixerim plus Studii quam illum & ad dicendum, & ad omnes bonarum rerum disciplinas adhibuisse: nam & in iisdem exercitationibus ineunte ætate fuimus; & postea Rhodum una ille etiam profectus est, quo melior esset & doctior: & inde ut redut, videtur mihi in secunda arte primus esse maluisse, quam in prima secundus—sed fortasse maluit, id quod est adeptus, longe omnium non ejusdem modo ætatis, sed eorum etiam qui fuissent, in jure civili esse princeps—juris civilis magnum usum & apud Scævolam & apud multos fuisse, artem in hoc uno—hic enim attulit hanc artem—quasi lucem ad ea, quæ confuse ab aliis aut respondebantur aut agebantur—[Brut. 262, &c.] neque ille magis Juris consultus, quam justitiæ fuit: ita ea quæ proficiscebantur a legibus & a jure civili semper ad facilitatem æquitatemque referebat: neque constituere litium actiones malebat, quam controversias tollere. [Philip. 9. 5.] Servius vero pacificator cum suo librariolo videtur obiisse legationem. [Ad Att. 15. 7] Cognoram enim jam absens, te hæc mala multo ante providentem, defensorem pacis & in Consulatu tuo & post Consulatum fuisse. [Ep. Fam. 4. 1]

N. B. The old lawyers tell a remarkable story of the origin of Sulpicius's fame and skill in the law: that going one day to consult Mucius Scævola about some point, he was so dull in apprehending the meaning of Mucius's answer, that, after explaining it to him twice or thrice, Mucius could not forbear saying, "It is a "shame for a nobleman, and a patrician, and a pleader of causes, "to be ignorant of that law, which he professes to understand." The reproach stung him to the quick, and made him apply himself to his studies with such industry, that he became the ablest lawyer in Rome; and left behind him near a hundred and eighty books written by himself, on nice and difficult questions of law. Digest. l. 1. Tit. 2. parag. 43.

ing a particular account of his success against Antony's brother, Caius, in securing Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece, with all the several armies in those countries, to the interests of the Republic: that C. Antony was retired to Apollonia, with seven cohorts, where a good account would soon be given of him: that a legion, under L. Piso, had surrendered itself to young Cicero, the commander of his horse: that Dolabella's horse, which was marching in two separate bodies towards Syria, the one in Thessaly, the other in Macedonia, had deserted their leaders, and joined themselves to him: that Vatinius had opened the gates of Dyrrhachium to him, and given up the town with his troops into his hands; that in all these transactions, Q. Hortensius, the proconsul of Macedonia, had been particularly serviceable in disposing the provinces and their armies to declare for the cause of liberty*.

Pansa no sooner received the letters, than he summoned the senate, to acquaint them with the contents, which raised an incredible joy through the whole city†; after the letters were read, Pansa spoke largely in the praises of Brutus; extolled his conduct and services; and moved, that public ho-

The Jesuits, Catrou and Rouille, have put this Sulpicius into the list of the conspirators who killed Cæsar: but a moderate acquaintance with the character of the man, or with Cicero's writings, would have shewn them their error, and that there was none of Consular rank, but Trebonius, concerned in that affair. Hist. Rom. vol. 17. p. 343. Not. a.

* Vid. Philip. x. 4. 5. 6.

† Dii immortales! qui ille nuncius, quæ illæ litteræ, quæ lætitia Senatus, quæ alacritas civitatis erat? Ad Brut. 1. 2. 7.

nors and thanks should be decreed to him: and then, according to his custom, called upon his father-in-law, Calenus, to declare his sentiments the first; who, in a premeditated speech, delivered from writing, acknowledged Brutus's letters to be well and properly drawn; but since what he had done, was done without any commission and public authority, that he should be required to deliver up his forces to the orders of the senate, or the proper governors of the provinces---*. Cicero spoke next, and began with giving the thanks of the house to Pansa, for calling them together on that day, when they had no expectation of it; and not deferring a moment to give them a share of the joy which Brutus's letters had brought. He observes, that Pansa, by speaking so largely in the praise of Brutus, had shewn that to be true, which he had always taken to be so, that no man ever envied another's virtue, who was conscious of his own: that he had prevented him, to whom, for his intimacy with Brutus, that task seemed particularly to belong, from saying so much as he intended on that subject—then addressing himself to Calenus, he asks, what could be the meaning of that perpetual war which he declared against the Brutuses? why he alone was always opposing, when every one else was almost adoring them?—that to talk of Brutus's letters being rightly drawn, was not to praise Brutus, but his secretary: when

* Philip. x. 1, 2, 3.

did he ever hear of a decree in that style, that letters were properly written; yet the expression did not fall from him by chance, but was designed, premeditated, and brought in writing——*. He exhorts him to consult with his son-in-law, Pansa, oftener than with himself, if he would preserve his character; professes that he could not help pitying him, to hear it given out, among the people, that there was not a second vote on the side of him, who gave the first; which would be the case, he believed, in that day's debate. "You would take "away," says he, "the legions from Brutus, even "those which he has drawn off from the traitorous "designs of C. Antony, and engaged by his own "authority in the public service: you would have "him sent once more, as it were, into banishment, "naked and forlorn: but for you, fathers, if ever "you betray or desert Brutus, what citizen will "you honor? whom will you favor? unless you "think those, who offer kingly diadems, worthy "to be preserved; those who abolish the name of "king, to be abandoned." He proceeds to display, with great force, the merit and praises of Brutus; his moderation, mildness, patience of injuries: how studiously he had avoided every step, which could give a handle to civil tumults: quitting the city; living retired in the country; forbidding the resort of friends to him; and leaving Italy itself,

* Ib. 2.

lest any cause of war should arise on his account—that as long as he saw the senate disposed to bear every thing, he was resolved to bear too; but when he perceived them inspired with a spirit of liberty, he then exerted himself to provide them succours to defend it—*: that if he had not defeated the desperate attempts of C. Antony, they had lost Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece; the last of which afforded either a commodious retreat to Antony, when driven out of Italy, or the best opportunity of invading it: which now, by Brutus's management, being strongly provided with troops, stretched out its arms, as it were, and offered its help to Italy†. That Caius's march through the provinces was to plunder the allies, to scatter waste and desolation wherever he passed; to employ the armies of the Roman people against the people themselves: whereas Brutus made it a law, wheresoever he came, to dispense light, hope, and security to all around him: in short, that the one gathered forces to preserve, the other to overturn the Republic: that the soldiers themselves could judge of this, as well as the senate; as they had declared, by their desertion of C. Antony, who, by that time, either was, or would soon be, Brutus's prisoner‡---that there was no apprehension of danger from Brutus's power; that his legions, his mercenaries, his horse, and, above all, himself, was wholly theirs; formed for the service of the Republic, as well by his own excellent virtue, as a

* Philip. 3, 4. † Ib. 5. ‡ Ib. 6.

kind of fatality derived from his ancestors, both on the father's and the mother's side—that none could ever blame him for any thing, unless for too great a backwardness and aversion to war; and his not humoring the ardor of all Italy in their eager thirst of liberty—that it was a vain fear which some pretended to entertain, that the veterans would be disgusted to see Brutus at the head of an army, as if there were any difference between his army, and the armies of Hirtius, Pansa, D. Brutus, Octavius; all of which had severally received public honors for their defence of the people of Rome: that M. Brutus could not be more suspected by the veterans than Decimus; for though the act of the Brutuses, and the praise of it, was common to them both; yet those who disapproved it, were more angry with Decimus, as thinking him, of all others, the last who ought to have done it: yet what were all their armies now doing, but relieving Decimus from the siege*?—that if there was any real danger from Brutus, Pansa's sagacity would easily find it out: but as they had just now heard, from his own mouth, he was so far from thinking his army to be dangerous, that he looked upon it as the firmest support of the commonwealth†—that it was the constant art of the disaffected to oppose the name of the veterans to every good design: that he was always ready to encourage their valor, but would never endure their arrogance. "Shall

* Ib. 7. † Ib. 8.

" we," says he, " who are now breaking off the " shackles of our servitude, be discouraged, if any " one tells us that the veterans will not have it " so?—let that then come out from me at last, " which is true, and becoming my character to " speak; that if the resolutions of this body must " be governed by the will of the veterans; if all " our words and acts must be regulated by their " humor, then it is high time to wish for death; " which, to Roman citizens, was ever preferable to " slavery*"—that since so many chances of death surrounded them all, both day and night, it was not the part of a man, much less of a Roman, to scruple the giving up that breath to his country, which he must necessarily give up to nature†—that Antony was the single and common enemy of them all; though he had, indeed, his brother Lucius with him, who seemed to be born on purpose that Marcus might not be the most infamous of all mortals: that he had a crew also of desperate villains gaping after the spoils of the Republic—that the army of Brutus was provided against these; whose sole will, thought, and purpose, was to protect the senate and the liberty of the people—who, after trying in vain what patience would do, found it necessary, at last, to oppose force to force‡; that they ought, therefore, to grant the same privilege to M. Brutus, which they had granted before to Decimus, and to Octavius; and confirm, by public authority, what he had been doing for

* Philip. 9. † Ib. 10. ‡ Ib. 11.

them by his private counsel.—For which purpose he proposed the following decree—Whereas, by the pains, counsel, industry, virtue of Q. Cæpio Brutus*, proconsul, in the utmost distress of the Republic, the province of Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece, with all their legions, armies, horse, are now in the power of the consuls, senate, and people of Rome; that Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, has acted herein well, and for the good of the Republic, agreeably to his character, the dignity of his ancestors, and to his usual manner of serving the Commonwealth, and that his conduct is, and ever will be, acceptable to the senate and people of Rome. That Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, be ordered to protect, guard and defend the province of Macedonia, Illyricum, and all Greece, and command that army which he himself has raised: that whatever money he wants for military service, he may use and take it from any part of the public revenues, where it can best be raised, or borrow it where he thinks proper, and impose contributions of grain and forage, and take care to draw all his troops as near to Italy as possible: and whereas it appears, by the letters of Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, that the public service has been greatly advanced, by the endeavors and virtue of Q. Hortensius, proconsul; and that he concerted all his measures with Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, to the great benefit of

* M. Brutus, as appears from the style of this decree, had been adopted lately by his mother's brother, Q. Servilius Cæpio, whose name, according to custom, he now assumed with the possession of his uncle's estate.

the commonwealth; that Q. Hortensius, proconsul, has acted therein rightly, regularly, and for the public good; and that it is the will of the senate, that Q. Hortensius, proconsul, with his quæstors, proquæstors, and lieutenants, hold the province of Macedonia, till a successor be appointed by the senate.

Cicero sent this speech to Brutus, with that also which he made on the first of January; of which Brutus says, in answer to him, "I have read your "two orations, the one, on the first of January, "the other, on the subject of my letters, against "Calenus: you expect now, without doubt, that "I should praise them: I am at a loss what to "praise the most in them; your courage, or your "abilities: I allow you now in earnest to call them "Philippics, as you intimated, jocosely, in a former "letter*."—Thus the name of Philippics, which seems to have been thrown out, at first, in gaiety and jest only, being taken up and propagated by his friends, became, at last, the fixed and standing title of these orations: which yet, for several ages, were called, we find, indifferently, either Philippics or Antonians†. Brutus declared himself so well pleased with these two, which he had seen, that

* Legi orationes tuas duas, quarum altera Kal. Jan. usus es; altera de litteris meis, quæ habita est abs te contra Calenum. Nunc scilicet hoc expectas, dum eas laudem. Nescio animi an ingenii tui major in illis libellis laus contineatur. Jam concedo, ut vel Philippicæ vocentur, quod tu quadam epistola jocans scripsisti. Ad Brut. l. 2. 5.

† M. Cicero in primo Antonianarum ita scriptum reliquit. A. Gell. 13. 1.

Cicero promised to send him, afterwards, all the rest*.

Brutus, when he first left Italy, sailed directly for Athens, where he spent some time in concerting measures, how to make himself master of Greece and Macedonia, which was the great design that he had in view. Here he gathered about him all the young nobility and gentry of Rome, who, for the opportunity of their education, had been sent to this celebrated seat of learning: but, of them all, he took the most notice of young Cicero; and, after a little acquaintance, grew very fond of him; admiring his parts and virtue, and surprised to find, in one so young, such a generosity and greatness of mind, with such an aversion to tyranny†. He made him, therefore, one of his lieutenants, though he was but twenty years old; gave him the command of his horse; and employed him in several commissions of great trust and importance; in all which the young man signalized both his courage and conduct, and behaved with great credit to himself, great satisfaction to his general, and great benefit to the public service: as Brutus did him the justice to signify, both in his private and public letters to Rome. In writing to Cicero, "Your son," says he, "recom-"mends himself to me so effectually, by his in-"dustry, patience, activity, greatness of mind, "and, in short, by every duty, that he seems

* Hæc ad te oratio perferetur, quoniam te video delectari Philippicis nostris. Ad Brut. 2. 4.

† Vid. Plut. in Brut.

"never to drop the remembrance of whose son he "is; wherefore, since it is not possible for me to "make you love him more than you do already, "yet allow thus much to my judgment, as to per-"suade yourself, that he will have no occasion to "borrow any share of your glory, in order to ob-"tain his father's honors—*." This account, given by one who was no flatterer, may be considered as the real character of the youth: which is confirmed, likewise, by what Lentulus wrote of him about the same time: "I could not see your son," says he, "when I was last with Brutus, because he was gone "with the horse into winter quarters: but, by my "faith, it gives me great joy, for your sake, for his, "and especially my own, that he is in such esteem "and reputation: for as he is your son, and wor-"thy of you, I cannot but look upon him as my "brother†."

Cicero was so full of the greater affairs, which were the subject of his letters to Brutus, that he had scarce leisure to take notice of what was said about his son: he just touches it, however, in one or two letters: "As to my son, if his merit be as

* Cicero filius tuus sic mihi se probat, industria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorsus nunquam dimittere videtur cogitationem, cujus sit filius. Quare quoniam efficere non possum, ut pluris facias eum, qui tibi est carissimus, illud tribue judicio meo, ut tibi persuadeas, non fore illi abutendum gloria tua, ut adipiscatur honores paternos. Kal. Apr. ad Brut. l. 2. 3.

† Filium tuum, ad Brutum cum veni, videre non potui, ideo quod jam in hiberna, cum equitibus erat profectus. Sed medius fidius ea esse eum opinione, & tua & ipsius, & in primis mea causa gaudeo. Fratris enim loco mihi est, qui ex te natus, teque dignus est. Vale. IIII Kal. Jun. Ep. Fam. 12. 14.

"great as you write, I rejoice at it as much as I "ought to do: or if you magnify it, out of love "to him, even that gives me an incredible joy, to "perceive that he is beloved by you*." Again; "I desire you, my dear Brutus, to keep my son "with you as much as possible: he will find no "better school of virtue, than in the contemplation "and imitation of you†."

Though Brutus intimated nothing in his public letters but what was prosperous and encouraging, yet, in his private accounts to Cicero, he signified a great want of money and recruits, and begged to be supplied with both from Italy, especially with recruits; either by a vote of the senate, or, if that could not be had, by some secret management, without the privity of Pansa: to which Cicero answered, "You tell me that you want two neces- "sary things, recruits and money: it is difficult "to help you. I know no other way of raising "money, which can be of use to you, but what "the senate has decreed, of borrowing it from the "cities. As to recruits, I do not see what can be "done: for Pansa is so far from granting any "share of his army or recruits to you, that he is "even uneasy to see so many volunteers going over "to you; his reason, I take it, is, that he thinks

* De Cicerone meo, & si tantum est in eo, quantum scribis, tantum scilicet quantum debeo, gaudeo: & si, quod amas eum, eo majora facis; id ipsum incredibiliter gaudeo, a te eum deligi. Ad Brut. 2. 6.

† Ciceronem meum, mi Brute, velim quam plurimum tecum habeas. Virtutis disciplinam meliorem reperiet nullam, quam contemplationem atque imitationem tui. XIII Kal. Maii. ib. 7.

"no forces too great for the demands of our affairs "in Italy: for as to what many suspect, that he "has no mind to see you too strong, I have no "suspicion of it*."—Pansa seems to have been much in the right, for refusing to part with any troops out of Italy, where the stress of the war now lay, on the success of which the fate of the whole Republic depended.

But there came news of a different kind, about the same time, to Rome, of Dolabella's successful exploits in Asia. He left the city, as it is said above, before the expiration of his consulship, to possess himself of Syria; which had been allotted to him by Antony's management: and taking his way through Greece and Macedonia, to gather what money and troops he could raise in those countries, he passed over into Asia, in hopes of inducing that province to abandon Trebonius, and declare for him: having sent his emissaries, therefore, before him, to prepare for his reception, he arrived before Smyrna, where Trebonius resided, without any shew of hostility, or forces sufficient to give any great alarm, pretending to desire nothing more than a free passage through the country to his own province. Trebo-

* Quod egere te duabus necessariis rebus scribis, supplemento & pecunia, difficile consilium est. Non enim mihi occurrunt facultates, quibus uti te posse videam, præter illas, quas Senatus decrevit, ut pecunias a civitatibus mutuas sumeres. De supplemento autem non video, quid fieri possit. Tantum enim abest ut Pansa de exercitu suo aut delectu tibi aliquid tribuat, ut etiam moleste ferat, tam multos ad te ire voluntarios: quomodo equidem credo, quod his rebus quæ in Italia decernuntur, nullas copias nimis magnas arbitretur: quomodo autem multi suspicantur, quod ne te quidem nimis firmum esse velit; quod ego non suspicor. Ib. 6.

nius refused to admit him into the town; but consented to supply him with refreshments without the gates: where many civilities passed between them, with great professions, on Dolabella's part, of amity and friendship to Trebonius, who promised, in his turn, that if Dolabella would depart quietly from Smyrna, he should be received into Ephesus, in order to pass forward towards Syria. To this Dolabella seemingly agreed; and, finding it impracticable to take Smyrna by open force, contrived to surprise it by stratagem; embracing, therefore, Trebonius's offer, he set forward towards Ephesus; but, after he had marched several miles, and Trebonius's men, who were sent after to observe him, were retired, he turned back instantly in the night, and arriving again at Smyrna before day, found it, as he expected, negligently guarded, and without any apprehension of an assault; so that his soldiers, by the help of ladders, presently mounting the walls, possessed themselves of it without opposition, and seized Trebonius himself in his bed, before he knew any thing of his danger*.

Dolabella treated him with the utmost cruelty; kept him two days under torture, to extort a discovery of all the money in his custody; then ordered his head to be cut off, and carried about on a spear; and his body to be dragged about the streets, and thrown into the sea†. This was the

* App. 3. p. 542.

† Consecutus est Dolabella, nulla suspicione belli.—Secutæ collocutiones familiares cum Trebonio; complexusque summæ

first blood that was spilt on the account of Cæsar's death; which was now revenged in kind upon one of the principal conspirators, and the only one who was of consular rank. It had been projected, without doubt, in concert with Antony, to make the revenge of Cæsar's death the avowed cause of their arms, in order to draw the veterans to their side, or make them unwilling, at least, to act against them: and it gave a clear warning to Brutus, and his associates, what they were to expect, if their enemies prevailed, as well as a sad presage to all honest men, of the cruel effects and merciless fury of the impending war.

On the news of Trebonius's death, the senate was summoned by the consul, where Dolabella was unanimously declared a public enemy, and his estate confiscated. Calenus himself first proposed the vote and said, that if any thing more severe could be thought of, he would be for it: the indignation of the city was so inflamed, that he was forced to comply with the popular humor, and hoped, perhaps, to put some difficulty upon Cicero, who, for his relation to Dolabella, would, as he imagined, be for moderating the punishment. But though Cale-

benevolentiæ—nocturnus introitus in Smyrnam, quasi in hostium urbem: oppressus Trebonius—interficere captum statim noluit, nè nimis, credo, in victoria liberalis videretur. Cum verborum contumeliis optimum virum incesto ore lacerasset, tum verberibus ac tormentis quæstionem habuit pecuniæ publicæ, idque per biduum. Post cervicibus fractis caput abscidit, idque adfixum gestari jussit in pilo; reliquum corpus tractum ac laniatum abjecit in mare, &c. Philip. xi. 2, 3.

nus was mistaken in this, he was concerned in moving another question, which greatly perplexed Cicero, about the choice of a general, to manage this new war against Dolabella. Two opinions were proposed: the one, that P. Servilius should be sent with an extraordinary commission; the other, that the two consuls should jointly prosecute that war, with the provinces of Syria and Asia allotted to them. This was very agreeable to Pansa, and pushed, therefore, not only by his friends, but by all Antony's party, who fancied that it would take off the attention of the consuls from the war of Italy; give Dolabella time to strengthen himself in Asia; raise a coldness between the consuls and Cicero, if he ventured to oppose it; and, above all, put a public affront upon Cassius; who, by his presence in those parts, seemed to have the best pretension to that commission. The debate continued through the first day, without coming to any issue; and was adjourned to the next. In the mean while, Cassius's mother-in-law, Servilia, and other friends, were endeavoring to prevail with Cicero to drop the opposition, for fear of alienating Pansa: but in vain; for he resolved, at all hazards, to defend the honor of Cassius; and when the debate was resumed, the next morning, exerted all his interest and eloquence to procure a decree in his favor.

He began his speech by observing that, in their present grief for the lamentable fate of Trebonius, the Republic, however, would reap some good from it, since they now saw the barbarous cruelty

of those who had taken arms against their country: for of the two chiefs of the present war, the one, by effecting what he wished, had discovered what the other aimed at*. That they both meant nothing less than the death and destruction of all honest men; nor would be satisfied, it seemed, with simple death, for that was the punishment of nature, but thought the rack and tortures due to their revenge—that what Dolabella had executed, was the picture of what Antony intended; that they were a true pair, exactly matched, marching by concert and equal paces in the execution of their wicked purposes—this he illustrates, by parallel instances from the conduct of each; and after displaying the inhumanity of Dolabella, and the unhappy fate of Trebonius, in a manner proper to excite indignation against the one, and compassion for the other; he shews, that Dolabella was still the more unhappy of the two, and must needs suffer more from the guilt of his mind, than Trebonius from the tortures of his body---"what doubt," says he, "can there be, which of them is the most "miserable? he, whose death the senate and people are eager to revenge; or he, who is adjudged "to be a traitor, by the unanimous vote of the senate? for, in all other respects, it is the greatest "injury to Trebonius, to compare his life with Dolabella's. As to the one, every body knows his "wisdom, wit, humanity, innocence, greatness of "mind in freeing his country; but, as to the

* Philip. xi. 1.

" other, cruelty was his delight from a boy, with a " lewdness so shameless and abandoned, that he " used to value himself for doing, what his very " adversaries could not object to him with mo- " desty. Yet, this man, good Gods! was once " mine: for I was not very curious to inquire into " his vices; nor should I now, perhaps, have been " his enemy, had he not shewn himself an enemy " to you, to his country, to the domestic Gods " and altars of us all; nay, even to nature and hu- " manity itself*." He exhorts them, from this warning given by Dolabella, to act with the greater vigor against Antony: for if he, who had about him but a few of those capital incendiaries, the ring-leaders of rapine and rebellion, durst attempt an act so abominable, what barbarity were they not to expect from Antony, who had the whole crew of them in his camp?—the principal of whom he describes by name and character; and adds, that as he had often dissented unwillingly from Calenus, so now, at last, he had the pleasure to agree with him, and to let them see, that he had no dislike to the man, but to the cause: that, in this case, he not only concurred with him, but thanked him for propounding a vote so severe, and worthy of the Republic, in decreeing Dolabella an enemy, and his estate to be confiscated†. Then, as to the second point, which was of greater delicacy, the nomination of a general to be

Ib. 4. † Ib. 5, 6.

sent against Dolabella, he proceeds to give his reasons for rejecting the two opinions proposed; the one, for sending Servilius, the other, for the two consuls—of the first, he says, that extraordinary commissions were always odious, where they were not necessary: and wherever they had been granted, it was in cases very different from this—that if the commission in debate should be decreed to Servilius, it would seem an affront to all the rest of the same rank, that being equal in dignity, they should be thought unworthy of the same honor—that he himself, indeed, had voted an extraordinary commission to young Cæsar; but Cæsar had first given an extraordinary protection and deliverance to them: that they must either have taken his army from him, or decreed the command of it to him; which could not, therefore, be so properly said to be given, as not taken away: but that no such commission had ever been granted to any one, who was wholly idle and unemployed*.—As to the second opinion, of decreeing that province to the consuls, he shews it to be both against the dignity of the consuls themselves, and against the public service: that when D. Brutus, a consul elect, was actually besieged, on the preservation of whom their common safety depended; and when a dreadful war was on foot, already entrusted to the two consuls, the very mention of Asia and Syria would give a handle to jealousy and envy; and, though the decree was not to take place till

* Philip. 7, 8.

D. Brutus should first be relieved, yet a new commission would necessarily take off some part of their thoughts and attention from the old. Then, addressing himself to Pansa, he says, that though his mind, he knew, was intent on delivering D. Brutus, yet the nature of things would force him to turn it sometimes towards Dolabella; and that, if he had more minds than one, they should all be directed and wholly fixed on Modena*: that, for his own part, he had resigned, in his consulship, a rich and well furnished province, that nothing might interrupt his endeavors to quench that flame which was then raised in his country: he wished that Pansa would imitate him, whom he used to commend; that, if the consuls, however, desired to have provinces, as other great men had usually done, let them first bring D. Brutus safe home to them: who ought to be guarded with the same care as the image that fell from heaven, and was kept in the temple of Vesta, in the safety of which they were all safe. That this decree would create great delay and obstruction to the war against Dolabella; which required a general prepared, equipped, and already invested with command: one who had authority, reputation, an army, and a resolution tried in the service of his country†:—that it must, therefore, either be Brutus or Cassius, or both of them—that Brutus could not be spared from Macedonia, where he was quelling

* Ib. 9. † Ib. 10.

the last efforts of the faction, and oppressing C. Antony, who, with the remains of a broken army, was still in possession of some considerable places: that when he had finished that work, if he found it of use to the commonwealth to pursue Dolabella, he would do it of himself, as he had hitherto done, without waiting for their orders: for both he and Cassius had, on many occasions, been a senate to themselves: that in such a season of general confusion, it was necessary to be governed by the times, rather than by rules: that Brutus and Cassius ever held the safety and liberty of their country to be the most sacred rule of acting*. "For by what law," says he, "by what right have "they hitherto been acting, the one in Greece, "the other in Syria, but by that which Jupiter "himself ordained, that all things beneficial to the "community should be esteemed lawful and just? "for law is nothing else but right reason, derived "to us from the Gods, enjoining what is honest, "prohibiting the contrary: this was the law which "Cassius obeyed when he went into Syria; ano- "ther man's province, if we judge by written law; "but when these are overturned, his own, by the "law of nature:—but that Cassius's acts might be "confirmed also by the authority of the senate, he "proposed a decree to this effect; that whereas "the senate has declared P. Dolabella to be an "enemy of the Roman people, and ordered him to "be pursued by open war; to the intent that he

* Philip. 11.

" may suffer the punishment due to him, both from " Gods and men; it is the will of the senate, that " C. Cassius, proconsul, shall hold the province " of Syria, in the same manner as if he had obtained " it by right of law: and that he receive the several " armies from Q. Marcius Crispus, proconsul; L. " Statius Murcus, proconsul; A. Allienus, lieute- " nant; which they are hereby required to deliver " to him: that with these, and what other forces " he can procure, he shall pursue Dolabella both by " land and sea: that, for the occasions of the war, " he shall have a power to demand ships, seamen, " money, and all things useful to him, from whom- " soever he thinks fit, in Syria, Asia, Bithynia, " Pontus: and that, whatever province he comes " into in prosecuting the war, he shall have an au- " thority superior to that of the proper governor: " that if king Deiotarus, the father, or the son, " shall assist C. Cassius, proconsul, with their " troops, as they have oft assisted the Roman peo- " ple in other wars, their conduct will be accep- " table to the senate and people: that if any of " the other kings, tetrarchs, and potentates, shall " do the like, the senate and people will not be " unmindful of their services:" that, as soon as the public affairs were settled, C. Pansa, and A. Hirtius, the consuls, one or both of them, should take the first opportunity of moving the senate about the disposal of the consular and prætorian provinces: and that, in the mean while, they should all continue in the hands of those who

now held them, till successors were appointed by the senate*.

From the senate, Cicero went directly into the forum, to give the people an account of the debate, and recommend to them the interests of Cassius: hither Pansa followed him, and, to weaken the influence of his authority, declared to the citizens, that what Cicero contended for, was against the will and advice of Cassius's nearest friends and relations——of which Cicero gives the following account in a letter to Cassius.

M. T. CICERO to C. CASSIUS.

"With what zeal I defended your dignity, both "in the senate and with the people, I would have "you learn rather from your other friends, than "from me. My opinion would easily have prevailed "in the senate, had not Pansa eagerly opposed it. "After I had proposed that vote, I was produced "to the people by Servilius, the tribune, and said "every thing which I could of you, with a "strength of voice that filled the forum, and "with such a clamor and approbation of the "people, that I had never seen the like before. "—You will pardon me, I hope, for doing it "against the will of your mother-in-law. The "timorous woman was afraid that Pansa would "be disgusted. Pansa, indeed, declared to the "assembly, that both your mother and brother

* Philip. 12, &c.

"were against it; but that did not move me, I had "other considerations more at heart: my regard "was to the Republic, to which I have always "wished well, and to your dignity and glory. But "there is one thing which I enlarged upon in the "senate, and mentioned also to the people, in which "I must desire you to make my words good: for "I promised, and in a manner assured them, that "you neither had, nor would wait for our decrees; "but would defend the Republic yourself in your "own way: and though we had heard nothing, "either where you were, or what forces you had; "yet I took it for granted, that all the forces in "those parts were yours; and was confident, that "you had already recovered the province of Asia "to the Republic: let it be your care to outdo "yourself, in endeavoring still to advance your own "glory. Adieu*."

As to the issue of the contest, some writers tell us that it ended as Cicero desired: but it is evident, from the letter just recited, and more clearly still from other letters, that Pansa's authority prevailed against him, for granting the commission to the consuls†. Cassius, however, as Cicero advised and declared, had little regard to what they were decreeing at Rome; but undertook the whole affair himself, and soon put an end to Dolabella's

* Ep. Fam. 12. 7.

† Quum Consulibus decreta est Asia, & permissum est iis, ut dum ipsi venirent; darent negotium qui ipsam obtineant, &c. Ep. Fam. 12. 14.

triumphs, as will be mentioned hereafter in its proper place.

The statue of Minerva, which Cicero, upon his going into exile, had dedicated in the Capitol, by the title of the Guardian of the City, was, about the end of the last year, thrown down and shattered to pieces by a tempest of thunder and lightning. This the later writers take notice of, as ominous, and portending the fall of Cicero himself: though neither Cicero, nor any of that time, made any such reflection upon it. The senate, however, out of respect to him, passed a decree, in a full house, on the eighteenth of March, that the statue should be repaired and restored to its place*. So that it was now made by public authority, what he himself had designed it to be, a standing monument to posterity, that the safety of the Republic had been the constant object of his counsels.

D. Brutus was reduced, by this time, to such straits, in Modena, that his friends began to be greatly alarmed for him; taking it for granted, that if he fell into Antony's hands, he would be treated no better than Trebonius. The mention, therefore, of a pacification being revived in the senate, and recommended by Pansa himself, upon an intimation given by Antony's friends, that he was now in a disposition to submit to reason, Cicero, out of a concern for Brutus's safety, consented to

* Eo die Senatus decrevit, ut Minerva nostra, Custos Urbis, quam turbo dejecerat, restitueretur. Ep. Fam. 12. 25. Dio. l. 45. p. 278.

the decree of a second embassay, to be executed by himself and Servilius, together with three other consular senators: but finding, upon recollection, that there appeared no symptoms of any change in Antony, and that his friends produced no proofs of it, nor any thing new in his conduct, he was convinced that he had made a false step, and that nothing more was intended than to gain time; which was of great use to Antony, as it would retard the attempts of relieving Modena, and give an opportunity to Ventidius to join him, who was marching towards him, at that time, with three legions. At the next meeting, therefore, of the senate, he retracted his opinion, and declared against the late decree, as dangerous and insidious; and, in a warm and pathetic speech, pressed them to rescind it. He owns, that it was indecent for one, whose authority they had so often followed in the most important debates, to declare himself mistaken and deceived; yet his comfort was, that it was in common with them all, and with a consul of the greatest wisdom: that when Piso and Calenus, who knew Antony's secret, the one of whom entertained his wife and children at his house, the other was perpetually sending and receiving letters from him, began to renew, what they had long intermitted, their exhortations to peace; and when the consul thought fit to exhort the same thing, a man, whose prudence could not easily be imposed upon, whose virtue approved no peace, but on Antony's submission; whose greatness of mind preferred death to slavery; it was natural to imagine, that

there was some special reason for all this; some secret wound in Antony's affairs, which the public was unacquainted with: especially when it was reported, that Antony's family were under some unusual affliction, and his friends in the senate betrayed a dejection in their looks—for if there was nothing in it, why should Piso and Calenus, above all others; why at that time; why so unexpectedly, so suddenly, move for peace? yet now, when they had entangled the senate in a pacific embassy, they both denied, that there was any thing new or particular, which induced them to it*: that there could be no occasion, therefore, for new measures, when there was nothing new in the case itself—that they were drawn in, and deceived by Antony's friends, who were serving his private, not the public interest---that he had seen it from the first, though but darkly; his concern for Brutus having dazzled his eyes; for whose liberty, if a substitute could be accepted, he would freely offer himself to be shut up in his place---that if Antony would humble himself, and sue to them for any thing, he should, perhaps, be for hearing him; but while he stood to his arms, and acted offensively, their business was to resist force by force——but they would tell him, perhaps, that the thing was not in their power, since an embassy was actually decreed. "But what is it," says he, "that "is not free to the wise, which it is possible to re- "trieve? it is the case of every man to err, but the

* Philip. xii. 1.

" part only of a fool to persevere in error—if we have " been drawn away by false and fallacious hopes, let " us turn again into the way; for the surest harbour " to a penitent is a change of his conduct*." He then shews how the embassy, so far from being of service, would certainly hurt, nay, had already hurt, the Republic, by checking the zeal of the towns and colonies of Italy, and the courage of the legions, which had declared for them, who could never be eager to fight, while the senate was sounding a retreat†. That nothing was more unjust, than to determine any thing about peace, without the consent of those who were carrying on the war; and not only without, but against their consent: that Hirtius and Cæsar had no thoughts of peace; from whom he had letters then in his hands, declaring their hopes of victory: for their desire was to conquer, and to acquire peace—not by treaty, but by victory‡. That there could not possibly be any peace with one to whom nothing could be granted: they had voted him to have forged several decrees of the senate;—would they vote them again to be genuine? they had annulled his laws, as made by violence;—would they now consent to restore them? they had decreed him to have embezzled five millions of money;—could such a waste be absolved from a charge of fraud? that immunities, priesthoods, kingdoms, had been sold by him;—could those bargains be confirmed, which

* Ib. 2. † Ib. 3. ‡ Ib. 4.

their decrees had made void *? That if they should grant him the farther Gaul, and an army, what would it be else, but to defer the war, not to make peace? nay, not only to prolong the war, but to yield him the victory†. "Was it for this," says he, "that we have put on the robe of war, taken "arms, sent out all the youth of Italy; that, with "a most flourishing and numerous army, we should "send an embassy at last for peace? and must I "bear a part in that embassy, or assist in that "council, where, if I differ from the rest, the peo- "ple of Rome can never know it? so that, whate- "ver concessions are made to Antony, or whatever "mischief he may do hereafter, it must be at the "hazard of my credit." He then shews, that, if an embassy must needs be sent, he, of all men, was the most improper to be employed in it: that he had ever been against any embassy; was the mover of their taking the habit of war; was always for the severest proceedings both against Antony and his associates; that all that party looked upon him as prejudiced, and Antony would be offended at the sight of him‡. That if they did not trouble themselves how Antony might take it, he begged them at least to spare him the pain of seeing Antony, which he should never be able to bear: who, in a speech, lately, to his parricides, when he was distributing rewards to the boldest of them, had promised Cicero's estate to Petissius; that he should

* Philip. 5. † Ib. 6. ‡ Ib. 7.

never endure the sight of L. Antony, whose cruelty he could not have escaped, but by the defence of his walls and gates, and the zeal of his native town: that though he might be able to command himself, and dissemble his uneasiness at the sight of Antony and his crew, yet some regard should be had to his life; not that he set any value upon it himself, but it ought not to be thought despicable by the senate and people of Rome; since, if he did not deceive himself, it was he who, by his watchings, cares, and votes, had managed matters so, that all the attempts of their enemies had not hitherto been able to do them any harm*. That if his life had been oft attempted at home, where the fidelity of his friends, and the eyes of all Rome, were his guard, what might he not apprehend from so long a journey? that there were three roads from Rome to Modena; the Flaminian, along the upper sea; the Aurelian, along the lower; the Cassian, in the middle;—that they were all of them beset by Antony's allies, his own utter enemies: the Cassian, by Lento; the Flaminian, by Ventidius; the Aurelian, by the whole Clodian family†.—— That he would stay, therefore, in the city, if the senate would give leave, which was his proper seat, his watch, and station: that others might enjoy camps, kingdoms, military commands; he would take care of the city, and the affairs at home, in partnership with them; that he

* Ib. 8. † Ib. 9.

did not refuse the charge, but it was the people, who refused it for him: for no man was less timorous, though none more cautious than he—that a statesman ought to leave behind him a reputation of glory in dying; not the reproach of error and folly: "who," says he, "does not bewail the death "of Trebonius? yet there are some who say, though "it is hard, indeed, to say it, that he is the less to "be pitied, for not keeping a better guard against "a base and detestable villain: for wise men tell "us, that he who professes to guard the lives of "others, ought, in the first place, to keep a guard "upon his own*." That if he should happen to escape all the snares of the road, that Antony's rage was so furious, that he would never suffer him to return alive from the congress;—that, when he was a young volunteer, in the wars of Italy, he was present at a conference of Cn. Pompey, the consul, and P. Vettius, the general of the Marsi, held between the two camps; there was no fear, no suspicion, nor any violent hatred, on either side: that there was an interview, likewise, between Sylla and Scipio, in their civil wars, where, though faith was not strictly observed, yet no violence was offered†:—but the case was different in treating with Antony, where, if others could be safe, he, at least, could not: that Antony would never come into their camp, much less they into his:—that, if they transacted affairs by letter, his opinion would always be one and the same; to

* Philip. 10. † Ib. 11.

reduce every thing to the will of the senate: that this would be misrepresented to the veterans, as severe and perverse; and might excite them, perhaps, to some violence—" Let my life, therefore," says he, " be reserved to the service of my coun-" try, as long as either dignity or nature will al-" low: let my death fall by the necessary course " of fate; or if I must meet it sooner, let me meet " it with glory.—Since the Republic then, to speak " the most moderately, has no occasion for this " embassy, yet, if I can undertake it with safety, " I will go; and, in this whole affair, will govern " myself entirely, fathers, not by a regard to my " own danger, but to the service of the state; and, " after the most mature deliberation, will resolve to " do that which I shall judge to be most useful to " the public interest."—

Though he did not absolutely refuse the employment, yet he dissuaded it so strongly, that the thing was wholly dropt; and Pansa, about the end of the month, marched away towards Gaul, at the head of his new raised army, in order to join Hirtius and Octavius, and, without farther delay, to attempt a decisive battle with Antony for the delivery of D. Brutus.

Antony, at the same time, while he was perplexing the counsels of the senate, by the intrigues of his friends, was endeavoring also, by his letters, to shake the resolution of Hirtius and Octavius, and draw them off from the cause, which they were now serving: but their answers seem to have been short and firm; referring him constantly to the authority

of the senate: yet, as things were now drawing towards a crisis, he made one effort more upon them; and, in the following expostulatory letter, reproached them, with great freedom, for deserting their true interest, and suffering themselves to be duped, and drawn in by Cicero, to revive the Pompeian cause, and establish a power, which, in the end, would destroy them.

ANTONIUS to HIRTIUS and CÆSAR.

"Upon the news of Trebonius's death, I was equally affected both with joy and with grief. It was matter of real joy to me, to see a villain suffer "the vengeance due to the ashes of the most il-"lustrious of men; and that, within the circle of "the current year, the divine providence has dis-"played itself, by the punishment of parricide, in-"flicted already on some, and ready to fall upon "the rest. But, on the other hand, it is a subject "of just grief to me, that Dolabella should be de-"clared an enemy, because he has killed a mur-"derer; and that the son of a buffoon should be "dearer to the people of Rome, than Cæsar, the "father of his country: but the cruellest reflection "of all is, that you, Hirtius, covered with Cæsar's "favors, and left by him in a condition, which "you yourself wonder at; and you too, young "man, who owe every thing to his name, are doing "all, which is in your power, that Dolabella may "be thought justly condemned; that this wretch

"be delivered from the siege; and Cassius and "Brutus be invested with all power. You look "upon the present state of things, as people did "upon the past; call Pompey's camp the senate; "have made the vanquished Cicero your captain; "are strengthening Macedonia with armies; have "given Africa to Varus, twice a prisoner; have sent "Cassius into Syria; suffered Casca to act as tri- "bune; suppressed the revenues of the Julian Lu- "perci; abolished the colonies of veterans, estab- "lished by law and the decree of the senate; pro- "mise to restore to the people of Marseilles, what "was taken from them by right of war; forget "that a Pompeian was made incapable of any dig- "nity by Hirtius's law; have supplied Brutus with "Appuleius's money; applauded the putting to "death Poetus and Menedemus, Cæsar's friends, "whom he made free of the city; took no notice "of Theopompus, when, stript and banished by "Trebonius, he fled to Alexandria: you see Ser. "Galba in your camp, armed with the same "poignard with which he stabbed Cæsar; have "enlisted my soldiers, and other veterans, on "pretence of destroying those who killed Cæsar; "and then employ them, before they know what "they are doing, against their quæstor, or their "general, or their comrades—what have you not "done, which Pompey himself, were he alive, "or his son, if he could, would not do? In short, "you deny that any peace can be made, un- "less I set Brutus at liberty, or supply him with "provisions: can this please those veterans, who

" have not yet declared themselves? for as to your " part, you have sold yourselves to the flatteries " and poisoned honors of the senate. But you " come, you say, to preserve the troops which are " besieged. I am not against their being saved, or " going wherever you please; if they will but " leave him to perish, who has deserved it. You " write me word, that the mention of concord has " been revived in the senate, and five consular em- " bassadors appointed; it is hard to believe, that " those, who have driven me to this extremity, " when I offered the fairest conditions, and was " willing to remit some part of them, should do " any thing with moderation or humanity: nor is " it probable, that the same men, who voted Do- " labella an enemy for a most laudable act, can " ever forgive me, who am in the same sentiments " with him. Wherefore, it is your business to re- " flect, which of the two is the more eligible, or " more useful to our common interest; to revenge " the death of Trebonius, or of Cæsar: and which " the more equitable; for us to act against each " other, that the Pompeian cause, so often defeat- " ed, may recover itself; or to join our forces lest " we become, at last, the sport of our enemies; " who, which of us soever may happen to fall, are " sure to be the gainers. But fortune has hitherto " prevented that spectacle; unwilling to see two " armies, like members of the same body, fighting " against each other; and Cicero, all the while, " like a master of gladiators, matching us, and or- " dering the combat: who is so far happy, as to

"have caught you with the same bait, with which "he brags to have caught Cæsar. For my part, I "am resolved to suffer no affront, either to myself "or my friends; nor to desert the party which "Pompey hated; nor to see the veterans driven "out of their possessions, and dragged one by one "to the rack; nor to break my word with Dola- "bella; nor to violate my league with Lepidus, a "most religious man; nor to betray Plancus, the "partner of all my counsels. If the immortal Gods "support me, as I hope they will, in the pursuit "of so good a cause, I shall live with pleasure; "but if any other fate expects me, I taste a joy "however before-hand, in the sure foresight of "your punishment: for if the Pompeians are so "insolent, when conquered, how much more they "will be so, when conquerors, it will be your lot to "feel. In a word, this is the sum of my resolu- "tion: I can forgive the injuries of my friends, "if they themselves are disposed, either to forget "them, or prepared, in conjunction with me, to re- "venge the death of Cæsar: I cannot believe "that any embassadors will come; when they do, "I shall know what they have to demand*." Hirtius and Cæsar, instead of answering this letter, sent it directly to Cicero, at Rome, to make what use of it he thought fit with the senate, or the people.

In this interval, Lepidus wrote a public letter to the senate, to exhort them to measures of peace, and to save the effusion of civil blood, by con-

* Vid. Philip. 13. 10. &c.

triving some way of reconciling Antony and his friends to the service of their country; without giving the least intimation of his thanks for the public honors, which they had lately decreed to him. This was not at all agreeable to the senate, and confirmed their former jealousy of his disaffection to the Republic, and good understanding with Antony. They agreed, however, to a vote proposed by Servilius, that Lepidus should be thanked for his love of peace, and care of the citizens, yet should be desired, not to trouble himself any farther about it, but to leave that affair to them; who thought that there could be no peace, unless Antony should lay down his arms, and sue for it. This letter gave Antony's friends a fresh handle to renew their instances for a treaty, for the sake of obliging Lepidus, who had it in his power, they said, to force them to it: which put Cicero, once more, to the trouble of confuting and exposing all their arguments. He told them, that he was ever afraid, from the first, lest an insidious offer of peace should damp the common zeal, for the recovery of their liberty: that, whoever delighted in discord, and the blood of citizens, ought to be expelled from the society of human kind: yet it was to be considered, whether there were not some wars, wholly inexpiable; where no peace could be made, and where a treaty of peace was but a stipulation of slavery*: that the war, now on foot, was of this sort; undertaken against

* Philip. 13. 1.

a set of men who were natural enemies to society; whose only pleasure it was to oppress, plunder, and murder their fellow-creatures; and to restore such to the city, was to destroy the city itself*.— That they ought to remember what decrees they had already made against them, such as had never been made against a foreign enemy, or any with whom there could be peace—that since wisdom, as well as fortitude, was expected from men of their rank, though these indeed could hardly be separated, yet he was willing to consider them separately, and follow what wisdom, the more cautious and guarded of the two, prescribed.——"If "wisdom, then," says he, "should command me "to hold nothing so dear as life; to decree no- "thing at the hazard of my head; to avoid all "danger, though slavery was sure to be the conse- "quence; I would reject that wisdom, be it ever "so learned; but if it teaches us to preserve our "lives, our fortunes, our families, yet so as to "think them inferior to liberty; to wish to enjoy "them no longer than we can do it in a free Re- "public; not to part with our liberty for them, "but to throw them all away for liberty, as expos- "ing us only to greater mischief without it; I "would then listen to her voice, and obey her as "a God†." That no man had a greater respect for Lepidus than himself; and though there had been an old friendship between them, yet he valued him, not so much for that, as his services to

* Ib. 2. † Ib. 3.

the public, in prevailing with young Pompey to lay down his arms, and free his country from the misery of a cruel war: that the Republic had many pledges of fidelity from Lepidus; his great nobility; great honors; high-priesthood; many parts of the city adorned by him and his ancestors; his wife, children, great fortunes, pure from any taint of civil blood; no citizen ever hurt, many preserved by him: that such a man might err in judgment, but could never wilfully be an enemy to his country.—That his desire of peace was laudable, if he could make such a peace for them now, as when he restored Pompey to them.—That for this they had decreed him greater honors than had been given before to any man, a statue with a splendid inscription, and a triumph even in absence*.—That, by good fortune, they had managed matters so, that Pompey's return might consist with the validity of Cæsar's acts, which, for the sake of peace, they had confirmed; since they had decreed to Pompey the five millions and a half, which were raised by the sale of his estates, to enable him to buy them again: he desired, that the task of replacing him in the possessions of his ancestors, might be committed to him for his old friendship with his father: that it should be his first care to nominate him an augur, and repay the same favor to the son, which he himself received from the father†: that those who had seen him lately at Marseilles, brought

* Philip. 4. † Ib. 5.

word that he was ready to come with his troops to the relief of Modena, but that he was afraid of giving offence to the veterans; which shewed him to be the true son of that father, who used to act with as much prudence as courage.—That it was Lepidus's business to take care, not to be thought to act with more arrogance than became him: that if he meant to frighten them with his army, he should remember that it was the army of the senate and people of Rome, not his own*.—That if he interposed his authority without arms, that was indeed the more laudable, but would hardly be thought necessary.—For, though his authority was as great with them as that of the noblest citizen ought to be, yet the senate was not unmindful of their own dignity; and there never was a graver, firmer, stouter senate than the present.—That they were all so incensed against the enemies of their liberty, that no man's authority could repress their ardor, or extort their arms from them.—That they hoped the best, but would rather suffer the worst than live slaves†.—That there was no danger to be apprehended from Lepidus, since he could not enjoy the splendor of his own fortunes, but with the safety of all honest men.—That nature first makes men honest, but fortune confirms them: for though it was the common interest of all to promote the safety of the public, yet it was more particularly of those who were happy in their for-

* Ib. 6. † Ib. 7.

tunes.——That nobody was more so than Lepidus, and nobody, therefore, better disposed: of which the people saw a remarkable instance, in the concern which he expressed, when Antony offered a diadem to Cæsar, and chose to be his slave rather than his colleague; for which single act, if he had been guilty of nothing else, he had richly deserved the worst punishment*.——Then, after inveighing, as usual, against Antony, through several pages, he declared all thoughts of peace with him to be vain; and, for a fresh proof of it, produced his last letter to Hirtius and Octavius, and read it publicly to the assembly: not that he thought it worth reading, he says, but to let them see his traitorous views openly avowed and confessed by himself. He read it to them paragraph by paragraph, with his own comment and remarks upon it; rallying all along, with great wit and spirit, the rage, the extravagance, the inconsistenty, the folly, and the inaccuracy of each sentence. On the whole, he says, that if Lepidus had seen it, he would neither have advised, or thought any peace with him possible.——That fire and water would sooner unite, than the Antonys be reconciled to the Republic.—That the first and best thing, therefore, was to conquer; the second, to decline no danger for the liberty of their country; that there was no third thing, but the last and worst of all, to submit to the utmost baseness, through a desire

* Philip. 8.

of living.—For which reasons, he declared his concurrence with Servilius, in the vote upon Lepidus's letters; and proposed an additional decree, either to be joined to the other, or published separately. —That Pompey the Great, the son of Cnæus, in offering his service and his troops to the senate and people of Rome, had acted agreeably to the courage and zeal of his father and ancestors; and to his own virtue, industry, and good disposition to the Republic: and that the thing was grateful and acceptable to the senate and people, and would hereafter be an honor to himself.

After the debate, which ended as Cicero wished, he sent the following short letter to Lepidus, which, by the coldness and negligence with which it was drawn, seems to be designed, to let Lepidus see, that they were perfectly easy and secure at Rome, whatever measures he might think fit to take.

CICERO to LEPIDUS.

"While, out of the great respect which I bear to "you, I am making it my particular care to ad- "vance your dignity as much as possible, it was a "concern to me, to see that you did not think it "worth while to return your thanks to the senate, "for the extraordinary honors which they have "lately conferred upon you. I rejoice, however, that you are so desirous of making peace among citizens: if you can separate that peace from

"slavery, you will consult both the good of the "Republic, and your own dignity: but if the ef-"fect of it be, to restore a desperate man to an "arbitrary dominion, I would have you to know, "that all men of sense have taken a resolution to "prefer death to servitude. You will act more "wisely, therefore, in my judgment, if you meddle "no farther with that affair of peace; which is not "agreeable either to the senate or the people, or to "any honest man: but you will hear enough of "this from others, or be informed of it by letters, "and will be directed by your own prudence, what "is the best for you to do*."

Plancus, too, who commanded in Gaul, and now resided near Lyons, at the head of a brave army, enforced Lepidus's advice, by a letter likewise to the senate on the same subject of peace; to which Cicero wrote the following answer:

CICERO to PLANCUS.

"The account which our friend Furnius brought "of your affection to the Republic, was highly "agreeable both to the senate and people of Rome: "but your letter, when read in the senate, did not "seem to agree with Furnius's report: for you ad-"vised us to peace, when your colleague, a man "of the greatest eminence, was besieged by most "infamous plunderers; who ought either to sue for

* Ep. Fam. x. 27.

" peace, by laying down their arms, or, if they " demand it, with sword in hand, it must be pro- " cured by victory, not treaty. But in what " manner your letters, as well as Lepidus's also, " were received, you will understand from that ex- " cellent man your brother, and from Furnius, " &c*."

C. Antony, whom we mentioned above to have retreated with seven cohorts to Apollonia, not daring to wait for Brutus's arrival, who was now advancing towards him, marched out to Buthrotum, to seek his fortune elsewhere, in quarters more secure and remote: but being overtaken and attacked on his march by a part of Brutus's army, he lost three of his cohorts in the action; and in a second engagement, with another body of troops, which young Cicero commanded, was entirely routed and taken prisoner: which made Brutus absolute master of the country, without any farther opposition†. This fresh success gave occasion for a second letter from Brutus to the senate; of which Cicero makes the following mention: " Your let- " ter," says he, " which was read in the senate, " shews the counsel of the general, the virtue of " your soldiers, the industry of your officers, and, " in particular, of my Cicero. If your friends had " been willing to move the senate upon it, and if " it had not fallen into most turbulent times, since " the departure of Pansa, some just and proper ho- " nor would have been decreed for it to the Gods‡."

* Ep. Fam. 6. † Plut. in Brut.

‡ Tuæ litteræ, quæ in Senatu recitatæ sunt, & Imperatoris

The taking C. Antony prisoner put Brutus under some difficulty in what manner he should treat him: if he set him at liberty, to which he was inclined, he had reason to apprehend fresh trouble from him, both to himself and the Republic: if he kept him prisoner in his camp, he was afraid, lest some sedition might be raised on his account, and, by his intrigues, in his own army; or if he put him to death, that it would be thought an act of cruelty, which his nature abhorred. He consulted Cicero, therefore, upon it, by letter. "C. Antony," says he, "is still with me; but, in truth, "I am moved with the prayers of the man, and "afraid, lest the madness of some should make "him the occasion of mischief to me. I am "wholly at a loss what to do with him. If I knew "your mind, I should be at ease: for I should "think that the best which you advised*." Cicero's advice was, to keep him under a safe guard, till they knew the fate of D. Brutus, in Modena†. Brutus, however, treated him with great lenity, and seemed much disposed to give him his liberty: for which purpose he not only wrote to the senate

consilium & militum virtutem, & industriam tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis mei declarant. Quod si tuis placuisset de his litteris referri, & nisi in tempus turbulentissimum post discessum Pansæ incidissent, honos quoque justus ac debitus Diis immortalibus decretus esset. Ad Brut. 2. 7.

* Antonius adhuc est nobiscum: sed medius fidius & moveor hominis precibus, & timeo ne illum aliquorum furor excipiat. Plane æstuo. Quod si scirem quid tibi placeret, sine sollicitudine essem. Id enim optimum esse persuasum esset mihi. Ad Brut. 2. 5.

† Quod me de Antonio consulis; quoad Bruti exitum cognorimus, custodiendum puto. Ib. 4.

about it himself, but permitted Antony to write too, and with the style of proconsul; which surprised and shocked all his friends at Rome, and especially Cicero, who expostulates with him for it in the following terms.

"On the thirteenth of April," says he, "your "messenger, Pilus, brought us two letters, the one "in your name, the other in Antony's, and gave "them to Servilius, the tribune; he to Cornutus, "the prætor. They were read in the senate. An-"tony, proconsul, raised as much wonder as if it "had been Dolabella, emperor; from whom also "there came an express; but nobody, like your "Pilus, was so hardy as to produce the letters, or "deliver them to the magistrates. Your letter "was read; short indeed, but extremely mild to-"wards Antony: the senate was amazed at it. "For my part, I did not know how to act. Should "I affirm it to be forged? What if you should "own it? Should I admit it to be genuine? that "was not for your honor. I chose, therefore, to "be silent that day. On the next, when the affair "had made some noise, and Pilus's carriage had "given offence, I began the debate; said much of "proconsul Antony; Sextius performed his part, and "observed to me, afterwards, in private, what dan-"ger his son and mine would be liable to, if they "had really taken up arms against a proconsul.— "You know the man; he did justice to the cause. "Others also spoke, but our friend Labeo took "notice that your seal was not put to the letter, "nor any date added; nor had you written about

"it, as usual, to your friends; from which he maintained the letter to be forged, and, in short, convinced the house of it. It is now your part, "Brutus, to consider the whole state and nature of "the war; you are delighted, I perceive, with lenity, and think it the best way of proceeding: "this, indeed, is generally right; but the proper "place of clemency is in cases and seasons very "different from the present: for what are we doing now, Brutus?—we see a needy and desperate "crew threatening the very temples of the Gods; "and that the war must necessarily decide whether we are to live or not. Who is it, then, "whom we are sparing? or what is it that we "mean? Are we consulting the safety of those, "who, if they get the better, are sure not to leave "the least remains of us?—for what difference is "there between Dolabella and any of the three "Antonys?—if we spare any of these, we have "been too severe to Dolabella. It was owing "chiefly to my advice and authority, that the senate and people are in this way of thinking, "though the thing itself, indeed, also obliged them "to it: if you do not approve this policy, I shall "defend your opinion, but cannot depart from my "own: the world expects from you nothing either "remiss or cruel: it is easy to moderate the matter, by severity to the leaders—generosity to the "soldiers*."

Cicero had now done every thing that human

* Ad Brut. 2. 7.

prudence could do towards the recovery of the Republic: for all that vigor, with which it was making this last effort for itself, was entirely owing to his counsels and authority. As Antony was the most immediate and desperate enemy who threatened it, so he had armed against him the whole strength of Italy, and raised up a force sufficient to oppress him. Young Octavius, next to Antony, was the most formidable to the friends of liberty; but, from the contrast of their personal interests, and their jealousy of each other's views, Cicero managed the opportunity to employ the one to the ruin of the other; yet so as to provide, at the same time, against any present danger from Octavius, by throwing a superiority of power into the hands of the consuls; whom, from being the late ministers of Cæsar's tyranny, he had gained over to the interests of liberty. But besides the difficulties, which he had to struggle with at home, in bringing matters to this point, he had greater discouragements abroad, from the commanders of the several provinces: they were all promoted to those governments by Cæsar, the proper creatures of his power, and the abettors of his tyranny*; and were now full of hopes, either of advancing themselves to dominion, or to a share of it, at least, by espousing the cause of some more powerful pretender. Men of this turn, at the head of great and veteran armies, could not easily be persuaded to submit to a se-

* Vides Tyranni Satellites in Imperiis: vides ejusdem exercitus in latere veteranos. Ad Att. 14. 5.

nate which they had been taught to despise, or to reduce the military power, which had long governed all, to a dependence on the civil. Yet Cicero omitted no pains of exhorting them, by letters, and inviting them, by honors, to prefer the glory of saving their country, to all other views whatsoever. Those, whom he most distrusted, and for that reason most particularly pressed, were Lepidus, Pollio, and Plancus: who, by the strength of their armies, and their possession of Gaul and Spain, were the best qualified to serve or to distress the Republican cause. He had little hopes of the two first; yet managed them so well, by representing the strength of the honest party, the unanimity of the senate, of the consuls, and all Italy, that he forced them, at least, to dissemble their disaffection, and make great professions of their duty; and, above all, to stand neuter till the affairs of Italy were decided, on which the fate of the Republic seemed chiefly to depend. Nay, he seems to have drawn Plancus entirely into his measures: as appears from his account of him to Brutus*, and from Plancus's own letters, in which he gives the strongest assurances of his fidelity, and offers to lead his troops to the relief of Modena; and was actually upon his march towards it, when he heard upon the road of Antony's defeat.—Not long before which, Cicero sent him the following letter.

* Planci animum in Rempub. egregium, legiones, auxilia, copias ex litteris ejus, quarum exemplum tibi missum arbitror, perspicere potuisti. Ad Brut. 2. 2.

CICERO to PLANCUS.

"THOUGH I understood, from the account of "our friend Furnius, what your design and resolu-"tion was, with regard to the Republic; yet, af-"ter reading your letters, I was able to form a "clearer judgment of your whole purpose. Where-"fore, though the fate of the commonwealth de-"pends wholly on one battle, which will be de-"cided, I believe, when you are reading this letter, "yet you have acquired great applause, by the "very fame, which was every where spread, of "your good intentions: and if there had been a "consul at Rome, the senate, by decreeing some "considerable honor to you, would have declared "how acceptable your endeavors and preparations "were. But that time is not only not yet past, "but was not in my judgment even ripe: for, af-"ter all, that alone passes with me for honor, "which is conferred on great men, not for the "hopes of future, but the experience of past ser-"vices. If then there be any Republic, in which "honor can have its proper lustre, take my word "for it, you shall have your share of the greatest: "though that, which can truly be called honor, is "not an invitation to a temporary, but the reward "of an habitual virtue. Wherefore, my dear Plan-"cus, turn your whole thoughts towards glory: "help your country; fly to the relief of your col-"league; support this wonderful consent and con-"currence of all nations: you will ever find me the

" promoter of your counsels, the favorer of your " dignity, and, on all occasions, most friendly " and faithful to you: for to all the other motives " of our union, our mutual affection, good offi- " ces, old acquaintance, the love of our country, " which is now added, makes me prefer your life " to my own. Mar. 29th*."

Plancus, in the mean time, sent a second letter to the senate, to assure them of his zeal and resolution to adhere to them; and to acquaint them with the steps which he had already taken for their service: upon which they decreed him some extraordinary honors, at the motion of Cicero, who sent him the following account of it.

CICERO to PLANCUS.

" THOUGH, out of regard to the Republic, my " greatest joy ought to be, for your bringing such " relief and help to it, in a time almost of extre- " mity; yet, may I so embrace you after victory " and the recovery of our liberty, as it is your " dignity, that gives me the chief part of my " pleasure; which already is, and ever will be, I " perceive, as great as possible. For I would " not have you think, that any letters were ever " read in the senate of greater weight than " yours; both for the eminent merit of your ser- " vices, and the gravity of your words and senti- " ments: which was not at all new to me, who was " so well acquainted with you, and remembered

* Ep. Fam. x. 10.

" the promises of your letters to me, and under-
" stood the whole purpose of your counsels, from
" our Furnius: but they appeared greater to the
" senate than was expected; not that they ever had
" any doubt of your inclinations, but did not fully
" understand how much you were able to do, or
" how far you would expose yourself in the cause.
" When M. Varisidius, therefore, brought me your
" letters, very early, on the seventh of April, I was
" transported with joy upon reading them; and, as
" a great multitude of excellent citizens were then
" waiting to attend my going abroad, I instantly
" gave them all a part of my pleasure. In the
" mean while, our friend Munatius, according to
" custom, came to join me: I presently shewed him
" your letter, of which he knew nothing before;
" for Varisidius came first to me, as you, he said, had
" ordered him; soon after, the same Munatius re-
" turned to me with the other two letters; that
" which you had sent to him, and that to the se-
" nate: we resolved to carry the last directly to
" the prætor, Cornutus, who, by the custom of our
" ancestors, supplies the place of the consuls in
" their absence. The senate was immediately
" called, and, upon the fame and expectation of
" your letters, made up a full house. After they
" were read, a scruple of religion was objected to
" Cornutus, from the report of the guardians of
" the Chickens, that he had not duly consulted
" the auspices; which was confirmed likewise by
" our college: so that the affair was adjourned to
" the next day. On that day I had a great con-

"test about your dignity, with Servilius, who procured, by his interest, to have his opinion declared the first: but the senate left him, and all went the contrary way: but when they were coming into my opinion, which was delivered the second, the tribune, Titius, at his request, interposed his negative; and so the debate was put off again to the day following. Servilius came prepared to support his opposition, though against Jupiter himself, in whose temple the thing passed: in what manner I handled him, and what a struggle I had to throw off Titius's negative, I would have you learn rather from other people's letters: take this, however, from mine,—that the senate could not possibly act with more gravity, firmness, and regard to your honor, than it did on this occasion; nor is the senate more friendly to you than the whole city; for the body of the people, and all ranks and orders of men, are wonderfully united in the defence of the Republic. Go on, therefore, as you have begun, and recommend your name to immortality: and for all these things, which, from the vain badges of outward splendor, carry a shew of glory—despise them; look upon them as trifling, transitory, perishing. True honor is placed singly in virtue; which is illustrated with most advantage by great services to our country. You have the best opportunity for this in the world; which, since you have embraced, persevere and go through with it, that the Republic may not owe less to you, than you to the Republic: you will find me not only the

"favorer, but the advancer of your dignity: this I "take myself to owe both to the Republic, which "is dearer to me than my life, and to our friend- "ship, &c. April the eleventh*."

Plancus answered him, not long after, to the following effect.

PLANCUS to CICERO.

"It is a pleasure to me to reflect, that I have "never promised any thing rashly of myself to "you; nor you, for me, to others. In this you "have the clearer proof of my love; that I desire "to make you acquainted with my designs, before "any man else. You already see, I hope, that my "services to the public will grow greater every day: "I promise that you shall soon be convinced of it. "As for me, my dear Cicero, may the Republic be "so delivered, by my help, from its present dan- "gers, as I esteem your honors and rewards equal "to an immortality; yet, were I still without them, "I would remit nothing of my present zeal and "perseverance. If, in the multitude of excellent "citizens, I do not distinguish myself, by a singu- "lar vigor and industry, I desire no accession to "my dignity from your favor: but, in truth, I de- "sire nothing at all for myself at present; nay, am "even against it, and willingly make you the arbi- "ter both of the time and the thing itself: a citi- "zen can think nothing late or little, which is given

* Ep. Fam. x. 12.

"by his country. I passed the Rhone, with my "army, by great journies, on the twenty-sixth of "April; sent a thousand horse before me, by a "shorter way, from Vienna. As for myself, if I "am not hindered by Lepidus, none shall complain of my want of expedition: if he opposes "me on my road, I shall take my measures from "the occasion: the troops which I bring, are, for "number, kind, and fidelity, extremely firm. I "beg the continuance of your affection, as long as "you find yourself assured of mine. Adieu*."

Pollio, likewise, who now commanded the farther Spain, with three good legions, though he was Antony's particular friend, yet made the strongest professions to Cicero, of his resolution to defend the Republic against all invaders. In one of his letters, after excusing himself, for not having written earlier and oftener, he says, "Both my nature "and studies draw me to the desire of peace and "liberty; for which reason I always lamented the "occasion of the late war; but, as it was not pos-"sible for me to be of no party, because I had "great enemies every where, I ran from that "camp, where I could not be safe from the trea-"chery of an enemy; and, being driven whither I "least desired, freely exposed myself to dangers, "that I might not make a contemptible figure "among those of my rank. As for Cæsar him-"self, I loved him with the utmost piety and "fidelity, because he treated me on the foot of

* Ep. Fam. x. 9.

"his oldest friends, though known to him only in "the heighth of his fortunes. When I was at liberty to act after my own mind, I acted so, that "the best men should most applaud me: what I "was commanded to do, I did so as to shew that "it was done by command, and not by inclina- "tion. The unjust odium, which I suffered on "that account, has sufficiently convinced me, how "sweet a thing liberty is, and how wretched is life "under the dominion of another. If the contest "then be, to bring us all again under the power "of one, whoever that one be, I profess myself "his enemy: nor is there any danger which I "would decline, or wish to avoid, for the sake of "liberty. But the consuls have not, either by de- "cree or letters, given me any orders what to do: "I have had but one letter from Pansa, since the "Ides of March; in which he exhorts me to sig- "nify to the senate that I and my army would be "in their power: but when Lepidus was declaring "openly to his army, and writing to every body, "that he was in the same sentiments with Antony, "that step would have been wholly absurd and im- "proper for me: for how could I get forage for "my troops against his will, in marching through "his province? or, if I had surmounted all other "difficulties, could I fly over the Alps, which were "possessed by his garrisons?—Nobody will deny, "that I declared publicly to my soldiers, at Cor- "duba, that I would not deliver the province to "any man, unless he were commissioned by the "senate—wherefore you are to look upon me as

" one, who, in the first place, am extremely de-
" sirous of peace, and the safety of all the citizens;
" in the second, prepared to assert my own and
" my country's liberty. I am more pleased than
" you can imagine, that my friend Gallus is so
" dear to you: I envy him for walking and joking
" with you: you will ask, perhaps, at what rate I
" value that privilege: you shall know by expe-
" rience, if ever it be in our power to live in quiet;
" for I will never stir one step from you. I am
" surprised that you never signified, in your letters,
" how I should be able to do the most service, by
" staying in the province, or bringing my army
" into Italy. For my part, though to stay be more
" safe, and less troublesome; yet, since I see that,
" in such a time as this, there is more want of le-
" gions than of provinces, which may easily be re-
" covered; I am resolved, as things now stand, to
" come away with my army—from Corduba, the
" fifteenth of March*."

There are several letters also still extant, written at this time, from Cicero to Cornificius, who governed Afric; exhorting him, in the same manner, to firmness in the defence of the Republic, and to guard his province from all invaders, who should attempt to extort it from him: and this man, after all, was the only commander, who kept his word with him, and performed his part to his country; and lost his life, at last, in maintaining that province in its allegiance to the Republic†.

* Ep. Fam. x. 31.

† Vid. Ep. Fam. 12. 24. &c. App. l. 4. 621. Dio. l. 48. 307.

P. Servilius, who has often been mentioned in the debates of the senate, was a person of great rank and nobility; had been consul with J. Cæsar, in the beginning of the civil war; the son of that Servilius, who, by his conquests near mount Taurus, obtained the surname of Isauricus. He affected the character of a patriot, but having had a particular friendship with Antony, was much courted by that party; who took the advantage of his vanity, to set him up as a rival to Cicero in the management of public affairs: in which he frequently obstructed Cicero's measures, and took a pride to thwart and disappoint whatever he proposed: Cicero had long suffered this with patience, out of regard to the public service; till, provoked by his late opposition in the affair of Plancus, he could not forbear treating him with an unusual severity and resentment; of which he gives an account in a letter to Brutus.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

"FROM Plancus's letters, of which a copy, I "imagine, has been sent to you, you will perceive "his excellent disposition towards the Republic, "with the condition of his legions, auxiliaries, and "whole forces. Your own people have informed "you, I guess, by this time, of the levity, incon-"stancy, and perpetual disaffection of your friend "Lepidus; who, next to his own brother, hates "you, his near relations, the most. We are anx-"ious with an expectation, which is now reduced

"to the last crisis: all our hopes are fixed on the "delivery of D. Brutus, for whom we have been "in great apprehension. For my part, I have bu-"siness enough on my hands at home, with the "madman Servilius; whom I have endured longer "than became my dignity: but I did it for the "sake of the Republic, lest I should give the dis-"affected a leader, not well affected, indeed, him-"self, yet noble, to resort to; which, nevertheless, "they still do. But I was not for alienating him "wholly from the Republic: I have now put an "end to my forbearance of him; for he began to "be so insolent, that he looked upon no man as free. "But, in Plancus's debate, he was strangely morti-"fied; and, after two days contest, was so roughly "handled by me, that he will be the modester, I "dare say, for the future. In the midst of our con-"tention, on the nineteenth of April, I had let-"ters delivered to me, in the senate, from our friend "Lentulus, in Asia, with an account of Cassius, "the legions, and Syria; which when I read pre-"sently in public, Servilius sunk, and many more "besides; for there are some, of eminent rank, who "think most wickedly: but Servilius was most "sensibly chagrined, for the senate's agreeing to "my motion about Plancus. The part which he "acts is monstrous*."

The news, which is mentioned in this letter to have been sent by Lentulus, of Cassius's success, was soon after confirmed by particular letters to Cicero from

* Ad. Brut. 2. 2.

Brutus and Cassius themselves, signifying that Cassius had possessed himself of Syria before Dolabella arrived there; that the generals, L. Murcus, and Q. Crispus, had given up their armies to him: that a separate legion, under Cæcilius Bassus, had submitted to him against the will of their leader: that four other legions, sent by Cleopatra from Egypt, to the assistance of Dolabella, under his lieutenant, Allienus, had all declared for him: and, lest the first letter should miscarry, as they often did from such a distance, by passing through the enemy's quarters, Cassius sent him a second, with a more full and distinct account of all particulars.

CASSIUS, Proconsul, to his friend M. CICERO.

"If you are in health, it is a pleasure to me; I "am also very well. I have read your letter, in "which I perceived your wonderful affection for "me; for you not only wish me well, which, indeed, you have always done, both for my own sake and the Republic's, but entertain an uncommon "concern and solicitude for me. Wherefore, as I "imagined, in the first place, that you would "think it impossible for me to sit still and see the "Republic oppressed; and, in the second, that, "whenever you supposed me to be in action, you "would be solicitous about my safety and success; "so, as soon as I was master of the legions which "Allienus brought from Egypt, I immediately "wrote to you, and sent several expresses to Rome: "I wrote letters also to the senate, but forbade the

" delivery of them till they had been first shewn to " you. If these letters have not reached you, I " make no doubt but that Dolabella, who, by the " wicked murder of Trebonius, is master of Asia, " has seized my messengers, and intercepted them. " I have all the armies which were in Syria under " my command; and having been forced to sit still " a while, till I had discharged my promises to " them, am now ready to take the field. I beg of " you to take my honor and interests under your " special care: for you know that I have never re- " fused any danger or labor for the service of my " country: that by your advice and authority, I " took arms against these infamous robbers: that I " have not only raised armies for the defence of the " Republic and our liberty, but have snatched " them from the hands of the most cruel tyrants; " which, if Dolabella had seized before me, he " would have given fresh spirit to Antony's cause; " not only by the approach, but by the very fame " and expectation of his troops; for which reasons, " take my soldiers, I beseech you, under your " protection, if you think them to have deserved " well of the state; and let none of them have " reason to repent that they have preferred the " cause of the Republic to the hopes of plunder " and rapine. Take care also, as far as it is in your " power, that due honor be paid to the emperors, " Murcus and Crispus: for Bassus was miserably " unwilling to deliver up his legion; and, if his " soldiers had not sent a deputation to me in spite " of him, would have held out Apamea against

" me, till it could be taken by force. I beg this " of you, not only for the sake of the Republic, " which, of all things, was ever the dearest to you, " but of our friendship also, which I am confident " has a great weight with you. Take my word for " it, the army which I have is the senate's, and " every honest man's, and, above all, your's: for, " by hearing perpetually of your good disposition, " they have conceived a wonderful affection for " you; and, when they come to understand that " you make their interests your special care, they " will think themselves indebted to you for every " thing. Since I wrote this, I have heard that " Dolabella is come into Cilicia with all his forces: " I will follow him thither, and take care that you " shall soon be informed of what I have done. I " wish only that my success may be answerable to " my good intentions. Continue the care of your " health, and your love to me*."

Brutus, who had sent this good news before to Cicero, as well as to his mother, and sister Tertia, charged the latter not to make it public till they had first consulted Cicero, whether it was proper to do so or not†. He was afraid lest the great prosperity of Cassius might give umbrage to the Cæsarian party, and raise a jealousy in the leaders, who were acting against Antony, that the Repub-

* Ep. Fam. 12. 12. vid. ib. 11.

† Ego scripsi ad Tertiam Sororem & matrem, ne prius ederent hoc, quod optime ac felicissime gessit Cassius, quam tuum consilium cognovissent. Ad Brut. 2. 5.

lican interest would grow too strong for them. But Cicero sent him word that the news was already known at Rome, before his letters arrived; and though there was some ground for his apprehensions, yet, on the whole, they thought it more adviseable to publish than to suppress it*.

Thus Cicero, as he declared to the senate, by his letters, expresses, and exhortations, was perpetually exciting all, who had power or command in any part of the empire, to the common defence of their liberty†; and, for his pains, had all the rage and malice of the factious to struggle with at home. These were particularly troublesome to him at this time, by spreading false reports every day from Modena, of Antony's success, or, what was more to be apprehended, of his union with the consuls against D. Brutus: which raised such a terror through the city, that all honest men were preparing to run away to Brutus or Cassius ‡— Cicero, however, was not disheartened at it, but, in the general consternation, appeared cheerful and easy; and, as he sends word to Brutus, had a perfect confidence in the consuls, while the majority of his friends distrusted them; and, from the number and firmness of their troops,

* Video te veritum esse, id quod verendum fuit, ne animi partium Cæsaris—vehementer commoverentur. Sed antequam tuas litteras accepimus, audita res erat & pervulgata.—Ib. 6.

† Meis litteris, meis nunciis, meis cohortationibus, omnes, qui ubique essent, ad patriæ præsidium excitatos. Philip. 14. 7.

‡ Triduo vero aut quatriduo—timore quodam perculsa civitas tota ad te se cum conjugibus & liberis effundebat. Ad Brut. 3. vid. it. Ep. Fam. 12. 8.

had but little doubt of their victory, if ever they came to a battle with Antony*. But what touched him more sensibly, was a story, kept up for some days, with great industry, that he had formed a design to make himself master of the city, and declare himself dictator, and would appear publicly with the fasces within a day or two. The report, as groundless as it was, seems to have disturbed him; but when Appuleius, the tribune, one of his warm friends, was taking pains to confute it, and justify him in a speech to the people, they all cried out, with one voice, that Cicero had never done, nor designed to do, any thing, but what was the best and most beneficial to the Republic†; this gave him some comfort; but what brought him much greater was, the certain news of a victory gained over Antony, at Modena, which arrived within a few hours after Appuleius's speech‡.

The siege of Modena, which lasted near four months, was one of the most memorable in all antiquity, for the vigor both of the attack and the defence. Antony had invested it so closely, and

* Tristes enim de Bruto nostro litteræ, nunciique afferebantur, me quidem non maxime conturbabant. His enim exercitibus, ducibusque quos habemus, nullo modo poteram diffidere. Neque assentiebar majori parti hominum. Fidem enim consulum non condemnabam, quæ suspecta vehementer erat. Desiderabam nonnullis in rebus prudentiam & celeritatem. Ad Brut. 2. 1.

† Itaque P. Appuleius—doloris mei concionem habuit maximam—in qua, cum me—liberare suspicione fascium vellet; una voce cuncta concio declaravit, nihil esse a me unquam de Repub. nisi optime cogitatum. Philip. 14. 6.

‡ Post hanc concionem duabus tribusve horis optatissimi nuntii & litteræ venerunt.—Ib.

posted himself so advantageously, that no succours could be thrown into it; and Brutus, though reduced to the utmost straits, defended it still with the greatest resolution. The old writers have recorded some stratagems, which are said to have been put in practice on this occasion; how Hirtius provided men skilled in diving, with letters written on lead, to pass into the town under the river, which runs through it; till Antony obstructed that passage, by nets and traps placed under water; which gave occasion to another contrivance, of sending their intelligence backwards and forwards by pigeons*.

Pansa was now upon the point of joining Hirtius, with four legions of new levies, which he brought from Rome; but when he was advanced within a few miles of Hirtius's camp, Antony privately drew out some of his best troops, with design to surprise him on the road, before that union, and to draw him, if possible, to an engagement against his will. We have a particular account of the action, in a letter to Cicero from Ser. Galba, one of the conspirators against Cæsar, who bore a principal part and command in it.

GALBA to CICERO.

" On the fifteenth of April, the day on which
" Pansa was to arrive in Hirtius's camp, (in whose
" company I was, for I went a hundred miles to

* Frontin. de Stratagem. l. 3. 13. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. x. 37. Dio. p. 315.

" meet him, on purpose to hasten his march) An-
" tony drew out two of his legions, the second,
" and thirty-fifth, and two prætorian cohorts, the
" one his own, the other Silanus's, with part of
" the Evocati*, and came forward toward us, ima-
" gining that we had nothing but four legions
" of new levies. But, in the night, to secure our
" march to the camp, Hirtius had sent us the
" Martial legion, which I used to command, and
" two prætorian cohorts. As soon as Antony's
" horse appeared in sight, neither the Martial le-
" gion, nor the prætorian cohorts could be re-
" strained from attacking them; so that, when we
" could not hold them in, we were obliged to fol-
" low them against our wills. Antony kept his
" forces within Castel Franco†; and, being un-
" willing to have it known that he had his legions
" with him, shewed only his horse and light-armed
" foot. When Pansa saw the Martial legion run-
" ning forward against his orders, he commanded
" two of the new raised legions to follow him. As
" soon as we got through the straits of the morass
" and the woods, we drew up the twelve cohorts
" in order of battle. The other two legions were
" not yet come up. Antony immediately brought

* The Evocati were a choice body of veteran soldiers, who, after their dismission from service, being yet vigorous and fit for war, were invited to it again, as a sort of volunteers, by the consul or general, and distinguished from the rest by peculiar privileges.

† Ad Forum Gallorum: now called Castel-Franco, a small village on the Æmilian way, between Modena and Bologna. Cluver. Ital. Ant. l. 1. c. 28.

O 2

"all his troops out of the village, ranged likewise "in order of battle, and, without delay, engaged "us. At first they fought so briskly on both sides, "that nothing could possibly be fiercer; though "the right wing, in which I was, with eight co- "horts of the Martial legion, put Antony's thirty- "fifth legion to flight at the first onset, and pur- "sued it above five hundred paces from the place "where the action began: wherefore, observing "the enemy's horse attempting to surround our "wing, I began to retreat, and ordered the light- "armed troops to make head against the Moorish "horse, and prevent their coming upon us behind. "In the mean while, I perceived myself in the "midst of Antony's men, and Antony himself but "a little way behind me; upon which, with my "shield thrown over my shoulder, I pushed on "my horse with all speed towards the new legion "that was coming towards us from the camp: and, "whilst Antony's men were pursuing me, and ours, "by mistake, throwing javelins at me, I was "preserved, I know not how, by being presently "known to our soldiers. Cæsar's prætorian co- "hort sustained the fight a long time on the "Æmilian road: but our left wing, which was the "weaker, consisting of two cohorts of the Martial "legion, and the prætorian of Hirtius, began to "give ground, being surrounded by Antony's "horse, in which he is very strong. When all our "ranks had made good their retreat, I retreated "myself the last to our camp. Antony, as the "conqueror, fancied that he could take it; but,

"upon trial, lost many of his men in the attempt, "without being able to do us any hurt. Hirtius, "in the mean time, hearing of the engagement, "marched out with twenty veteran cohorts, and "meeting Antony on his return, entirely routed, "and put to flight his whole army, in the very "same place where they had fought before at "Castel-Franco. About ten at night, Antony re-"gained his camp at Modena, with all his horse. "Hirtius retired to that camp which Pansa had "quitted in the morning, and where he left the "two legions, which Antony attacked. Thus An-"tony has lost the greater part of his veteran "troops, yet, not without some loss of our præto-"rian cohorts, and the martial legion: we took "two of Antony's eagles, and sixty standards; "and have gained a considerable advantage*."

Besides this letter from Galba, there came letters also severally from the two consuls and Octavius; confirming the other account, with the addition of some farther particulars: that Pansa, fighting bravely at the head of his troops, had received two dangerous wounds, and was carried off the field to Bologna: that Hirtius had scarce lost a single man: and that, to animate his soldiers the better, he took up the eagle of the fourth legion, and carried it forward himself: that Cæsar was left to the guard of their camp: where he was attacked likewise by another body of the enemy, whom he re-

* Ep. Fam. x. 30.

pulsed with great loss*. Antony reproached him, afterwards, with running away from this engagement in such a fright, that he did not appear again till two days after, and without his horse or general's habit: but the account just mentioned was given by Cicero, from letters, that were read to the senate, in which Hirtius declared him to have acted with the greatest courage†.

The news reached Rome on the twentieth of April, where it raised an incredible joy, and the greater, we may imagine, for the late terrors, which they had suffered from contrary reports. The whole body of the people assembled presently about Cicero's house, and carried him in a kind of triumph to the Capitol, whence, on their return, they placed him in the rostra, to give them an account of the victory; and then conducted him home with infinite acclamations: so that, in a letter upon it to Brutus, he says, that he reaped, on that day, the full fruit of all his toils, if there be any fruit in true and solid glory‡.

* Cum--ipse in primis Pansa pugnaret, duobus periculosis vulneribus acceptis, sublatus e prælio—Philip. 14. 9.

Hirtius ipse, aquilam quartæ Legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem speciem Imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antonii Legionibus, equitatuque conflixit. Ib. 10.

Cæsar –adolescens maximi animi, ut verissime scribit Hirtius, castra multarum Legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus est, secundumque prælium fecit. Ib. vid. App. l. 3. 571.

† Priore prælio Antonius eum fugisse scribit, ac sine paludamento equoque post biduum demum apparuisse. Sueton. Aug. x.

‡ Cum hesterno die me ovantem ac prope triumphantem populus Romanus in Capitolium domo tulerit? domum inde reduxerit —Philip. 14. 5.

Quo quidem die magnorum meorum laborum,—fructum cepi maximum; si modo est aliquis fructus ex solida veraque gloria, &c. Ad Brut. 3.

The day following the senate was summoned by Cornutus, the prætor, to deliberate on the letters of the consuls and Octavius: Servilius's opinion was, that the city should now quit the sagum, and take the common gown again; and that a public thanksgiving should be decreed jointly to the honor of the consuls and Octavius. Cicero spoke next, and declared strongly against quitting the sagum, till D. Brutus was first delivered from the siege: that it would be ridiculous to put it off, till they should see him in safety, for whose sake they had put it on—that the motion for quitting it, flowed from envy to D. Brutus; to deprive him of the glory that it would be to his name, to have it delivered to posterity, that the people of Rome had put on the sagum for the danger, and resumed the gown for the preservation of one citizen—he advised them, therefore, to continue in their former mind, of thinking the whole danger and stress of the war to depend on D. Brutus—and though there was reason to hope, that he was already safe, or would shortly be so, yet they should reserve the fruit of that hope to fact and the event, lest they should be found too hasty in snatching the favor of the Gods, or foolish in contemning the power of fortune*.—Then, as to the decree of the thanksgiving, he urges Servilius with omitting two things in his vote, which ought necessarily to have accompanied it; the giving Antony the title of enemy, and their own generals of em-

* Philip. 14. 1, 2.

perors—" the swords of our soldiers are dyed," says he, " or rather moistened only, as yet, with " blood: if it was the blood of enemies, it was " an act of the utmost piety; if of citizens, the " most detestable wickedness: how long then shall " he, who has outdone all enemies in villainy, go " without the name of enemy? he is now waging " an inexpiable war with four consuls, with the se- " nate and people of Rome; denounces plagues, de- " vastation, the rack and tortures to us all: confesses " that Dolabella's horrid act, which no barbarians " would own, was done by his advice: declares, " what he would have done to this city, by the " calamity of the people of Parma; honest and ex- " cellent men, firm to the interests of the senate " and people: whom L. Antony, the portent and " disgrace of his species, put to death by all the " methods of cruelty*. That Hannibal was never " so barbarous to any city, as Antony to Parma. " He conjures them to remember how much they " had all been terrified, for two days past, by " villainous reports spread about the city; and " were expecting, either a wretched death, or la- " mentable flight, and could they scruple to call " those men enemies, from whom they feared such " dreadful things?——he then proposed to en- " large the number of days of the thanksgiving, ' since it was not to be decreed to one, but to ' three generals jointly; to whom, in the first ' place, he would give the title of emperors—since

* Philip. 3.

" there had not been a supplication decreed without " it for twenty years past: so that Servilius should " not either have decreed it at all, or allowed the " usual honor to those, to whom even new and un- " usual honors were due*. That if, according to " the present custom, the title of emperor was " commonly given, for killing a thousand or two " of Spaniards, Gauls, or Thracians; how could " they refuse it now, when so many legions were " routed, and such a multitude slain?—for with " what honors," says he, " and congratulations " should our deliverers themselves be received into " this temple, when yesterday, on the account of " what they have done, the people of Rome carried " me into the Capitol in a kind of triumph? for " that, after all, is a just and real triumph, when, " by the general voice of the city, a public testi- " mony is given to those who have deserved well " of the commonwealth. For if, in the common " joy of the whole city, they congratulated me " singly, it is a great declaration of their judg- " ment: if they thanked me, still greater: if both, " nothing can be imagined more glorious."—That he was forced to say so much of himself against his will, by the strange envy and injuries which he had lately suffered—that the insolence of the factious, as they all knew, had raised a report and suspicion upon him, of his aiming at a tyranny; though his whole life had been spent in defending the Republic from it: as if he, who had destroyed

* Ib. 4.

Catiline, for that very crime, was of a sudden become a Catiline himself*. That if the report had found credit in the city, their design was, by a sudden assault upon his person, as upon a tyrant, to have taken away his life—that the thing itself was manifest, and the whole affair should be laid open in proper time—that he had said all this, not to purge himself to them, to whom he should be sorry to want an apology, but to admonish certain persons, of jejune and narrow minds, to look upon the virtue of excellent citizens, as the object of their imitation, not of their envy: since the Republic was a wide field, where the course of glory was open to many†: that if any man contested with him the first place in the government, he acted foolishly, if he meant to do it by opposing vice to virtue: that as the race was gained by running the fastest, so virtue was only to be conquered by a superior virtue—that they could never get the better of him by bad votes; by good ones, perhaps, they might; and he himself should be glad of it—that the people of Rome were perpetually inquiring, how men of their rank voted and acted, and formed their judgment of them accordingly—that they all remembered how, in December last, he was the author of the first step towards recovering their liberty: how, from the first of January, he had been continually watching over the safety of the commonwealth: how his house and his ears were open

* Philip. 5. †Ib. 6.

day and night to the advices and informations of all who came to him: how his opinion always was against an embassy to Antony: how he had always voted him an enemy, and their present state a war; but as oft as he mentioned an enemy or a war, the consuls had always dropped his motion, from the number of those that were proposed*; which could not, however, be done in the present case, because he, who had already voted a thanksgiving, had unwarily voted Antony an enemy: since a thanksgiving had never been decreed but against enemies; and never asked or granted in what was properly a civil war —that they should either have denied it, or must, of course, decree those to be enemies, for whose defeat it was granted.—Then, after flourishing on the particular merit of the three generals, Pansa, Hirtius, Octavius, and shewing how well they had each deserved the name of emperor, he decrees a thanksgiving of fifty days in the name of the three jointly†. In the last place, he proceeds to speak of the rewards due to the soldiers, and especially of the honors to be paid to those who had lost their lives in the defence of their country.—For these he proposes a splendid monument to be erected in common to them all, at the public charge, with their names and services inscribed—and, in recommending it, breaks out into a kind of funeral eulogium upon them—" Oh happy death," says he, " which, when due to nature, was paid to your coun-

* Ib. 7. † Ib. 8, 9, 10, 11.

"try! for I cannot but look upon you as born for "your country! whose name is even derived from "Mars: as if the same God, who gave birth to "this city, for the good of nations, had given "birth also to you, for the good of this city. "Death in flight is scandalous; in victory glori- "ous; wherefore, whilst those impious wretches, "whom you slew, will suffer the punishment of "their parricide in the infernal regions, you, who "breathed your last in victory, have obtained the "place and seat of the pious. The life given to "us by nature is short, but the memory of a life "well spent everlasting; if it were not longer than "this life, who would be so mad, at the expence of "the greatest pains and dangers, to contend for the "prize of glory? your lot, therefore, is happy, O you, "while you lived, the bravest, now the holiest of "soldiers; for the fame of your virtue can never "be lost, either by the forgetfulness of those who "are now alive, or the silence of those who shall "come hereafter; since the senate and people of "Rome have raised to you, as it were, with their "own hands, an immortal monument. There have "been many great and famous armies in the "Punic, Gallic, Italic wars; yet no such ho- "nor was ever done to any of them. I wish that "we could still do greater, since you have done "the greatest services to us: you drove Antony, "mad with rage, from the city; you repulsed "him when he attempted to return; a fa- bric. therefore, shall be erected, of magnificent

"work, and letters engraved upon it, the eternal "witnesses of your divine virtue; nor will those "who see or hear of your monument ever cease "talking of you: so that, instead of this frail and "mortal condition of life, you have now acquired "an immortality*." He then renews their former assurances to the old legions, of the full and punctual payment of all which had been promised to them, as soon as the war should be over; and for those, in the mean time, who had lost their lives for their country, he proposes that the same rewards which would have been given to them, if they had lived, should be given immediately to their parents, children, wives, or brothers. All which he includes, as usual, in the form of a decree, which was ratified by the senate.

Antony, being cruelly mortified by this defeat, kept himself close within his camp, and resolved to hazard nothing farther, but to act only on the defensive, except by harrassing the enemy with his horse, in which he was far superior. He still hoped to make himself master of Modena, which was reduced to extremity, and, by the strength of his works, to prevent their throwing any relief into it. Hirtius and Octavius, on the other hand, elate with victory, were determined, at all hazards, to relieve it; and, after two or three days spent in finding the most likely place of breaking through the entrenchments, they made their attack with such vigor, that Antony, rather than suffer the

* Philip. 12.

town to be snatched at last out of his hands, chose to draw out his legions, and come to a general battle. The fight was bloody and obstinate; and Antony's men, though obliged to give ground, bravely disputed every inch of it; till D. Brutus, taking the opportunity, at the same time, to sally out of the town, at the head of his garrison, helped greatly to determine and complete the victory. Hirtius pushed his advantage with great spirit* and forced his way into Antony's camp; but, when he had gained the middle of it, was unfortunately killed near the general's tent: Pontius Aquila, one of the conspirators, was killed likewise in the same place: but Octavius, who followed to support them, made good their attempt, and kept possession of the camp, with the entire defeat and destruction of Antony's best troops: while Antony himself, with all his horse, fled with great precipitation towards the Alps. Some writers give a different relation of this action, but, from the facts and circumstances of it, delivered by Cicero, this appears to be the genuine account. The consul Pansa died the day following, of his wounds, at Bologna*."

* Cum alia laudo, et gaudeo accidisse, tum quod Bruti eruptio non solum ipsi salutaris fuit, sed etiam maximo ad victoriam adjumento. Ad Brut. 4.

Ibi Hirtium quoque periisse et Pontium Aquilam, &c. Ep. Fam. x. 33. vid. it. Ep. Fam. xi. 13. et App. l. 3. p. 372.

SECTION XI.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

THE entire defeat of Antony's army made all people presently imagine that the war was at an end, and the liberty of Rome established: which would, probably, have been the case, if Antony had either perished in the action, or the consuls survived it: but the death of the consuls, though not felt so sensibly at first, in the midst of their joy for the victory, gave the fatal blow to all Cicero's schemes; and was the immediate cause of the ruin of the Republic*. Hirtius was a man of letters and politeness; intimately entrusted with Cæsar's counsels, and employed to write his acts: but as he was the proper creature of Cæsar, and strongly infected with party, so his views were all bent on supporting the power that had raised him, and serving his patron, not the public. In the beginning, therefore, of the civil war, when he was tribune of the people, he published a law, to exclude all, who were in arms with Pompey, from any employment or office in the state†: which made him particularly obnoxious to the Pompei-

* Hirtium quidem & Pansam—In Consulatu Reip. salutares, alieno sane tempore amisimus. Ep. Fam. 12. 25.

Pansa amisso, quantum detrimenti Respub. acceperit, non te prætent. Ep. Fam. xi. 9. Quanto sit in periculo Respub. quam potero brevissime exponam. Primum omnium, quantam perturbationem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus Consulum, &c. ib. 1.

† Neminem Pompeianum qui vivat tenere lege Hirtia dignitates. Philip. 13. 16.

ans, who considered him as their most inveterate enemy. Pansa, whose father had been proscribed by Sylla*, was attached with equal zeal to Cæsar, as to the head and reviver of the Marian cause, and served him in all his wars with singular affection and fidelity: he was a grave, sincere, and worthy man; and being naturally more moderate and benevolent than Hirtius, was touched with the ruin of his country, and the miseries of the oppressed Pompeians; many of whom he relieved by his humanity, and restored, by his interest, to the city and their estates†. This made him very popular, and gained him the esteem of all the honest; so that Cassius, in defending his epicurism to Cicero, alledges Pansa, as an example of those genuine Epicureans, who placed their pleasure or chief good in virtuous acts‡. Before their entrance into the consulship, Quintus Cicero gave a most wretched account of them both, as of a lewd, luxurious pair; not fit to be trusted with the command of a paultry town, much less of the empire; and says, that if they were not removed from the helm, the Republic would certainly be lost; since Antony would easily draw them into a partnership of his crimes: for, when he served with them in Gaul, he had seen incredible instances of their ef-

* Dio. l. 45. 278.

† Pansa, gravis homo & certus—Ep. Fam. 6. 12.
Quod multos miseris levavit, & quod se in his malis hominem præbuit, mirabilis eum virorum bonorum benevolentia prosecuta est. Ep. Fam. 15. 17.

‡ Itaque & Pansa, qui ἡδονὴν sequitur, virtutem retinet, &c. ib. 19.

"feminacy and debauchery, in the face even of the "enemy*." But we must charge a great part of this character to the peevishness and envy of Quintus; for, whatever they had been before, they were certainly good consuls; and, out of their affection to Cicero, and regard to his authority, governed themselves, generally, in all great affairs, by his maxims. They were persuaded, that the design of revenging Cæsar's death would throw the Republic again into convulsions, and flowed from no other motive than the ambition of possessing Cæsar's place; and resolved, therefore, to quell, by open force, all attempts against the public peace. From their long adherence to Cæsar, they retained, indeed, some prejudices in favor of that party, and were loth to proceed to extremities, till pacific measures were found ineffectual. This gave Cicero some reason to blame, but never to distrust them; to complain of their phlegm and want of vigor, as detrimental to the common cause: yet, while they were generally suspected by others, he always thought them sincere, though they did not, in all cases, act up to his wishes. The event confirmed his judgment of them; for they both not only exposed, but lost their lives, with the greatest courage, in the defence of the Republic, and shewed themselves to be the very men which Cicero had constantly affirmed them to be; and though he imputes some little blame to Hirtius, yet of Pansa,

* Quos ego penitus novi libidinum et languoris effeminatissimi animi plenos: qui nisi a gubernaculis recesserint, maximum ab universo naufragio periculum est, &c. Ep. Fam. 16. 27.

he declares, that he wanted neither courage from the first, nor fidelity to the last*.

If they had lived to reap the fruits of their victory, their power and authority would have been sufficient to restrain Octavius within the bounds of his duty, and sustain the tottering Republic, till Brutus and Cassius could arrive to their assistance, and Plancus and D. Brutus unite themselves in the same cause, and give it a firm establishment in their consulship of the next year; all whose armies, together with the African legions, were far superior to any force that could have been brought against them. But the death of the two consuls placed Octavius at once above control, by leaving him the master of both their armies, especially of all the veterans, who were disaffected to D. Brutus, and could not be induced to follow him; and it fell out so lucky and apposite to all Octavius's views, as to give birth to a general persuasion, that they had received foul play, and were both of them killed by his contrivance: for he was observed to

* Quales tibi sæpe scripsi Consules, tales extiterunt. [Ad Brut. 3.] erat in Senatu satis vehemens et acer Pansa; cum in cæteros hujus generis, tum maxime in socerum. ui Consuli non animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum defuit. Bellum ad Mutinam gerebatur; nihil ut in Cæsare reprehenderes, nonnulla in Hirtio— Ib. 10.

N. B.—Several medals were struck by the senate, on the occasion of this victory, particularly one in honor of Pansa, exhibiting the head of the Goddess Liberty, crowned with laurel, and the inscription, LIBERTATIS; and on the reverse, Rome, sitting upon the spoils of enemies, holding a spear in her right hand, and a dagger in her left, with her foot upon the globe, and Victory flying towards her, to crown her with laurel; and the inscription, C. PANSA. C. F. C. N. See Morel. Fam. Rom.

be the first man who took up Hirtius's body in the camp, where some imagined him to have been killed by his own soldiers; and Pansa's physician, Glyco, was actually thrown into prison, by Torquatus, Pansa's quæstor, upon a suspicion of having poisoned his wounds*. But the chief ground of that notion seems to have lain in the fortunate coincidence of the fact with the interests of Octavius: for M. Brutus thought it incredible, and, in the most pressing manner begged of Cicero to procure Glyco's enlargement. and protect him from any harm, as being a worthy, modest man, incapable of such a villany, and who, of all others, suffered the greatest loss by Pansa's death†.

Cicero was soon aware of the dangerous turn which this event was likely to give to their affairs; and, within a day or two after the news, intimates his apprehension of it to Brutus: "Young Cæsar," says he, "has a wonderful disposition to virtue; I "wish that I may govern him as easily, in all this "height of honor and power, as I have hitherto "done: the thing is now much harder; yet I do "not despair of it; for the youth is persuaded, and "chiefly by me, that we owe our present safety to

* Rumor increbuit, ambos opera ejus occisos: ut Antonio fugato, Repub. Consulibus orbata, solus victores exercitus occuparet. Pansæ quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit, ut Glyco medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulneri indidisset. Sueton. Aug. xi. Dio. l. 46. 317. App p. 572.

† Tibi Glycona medicum Pansæ—diligentissime commendo; audimus eum venisse in suspicionem Torquato de morte Pansæ, custodirique ut parricidam. Nihil minus credendum, &c. Rogo te, & quidem valde rogo, eripias eum ex custodia. Ad Brut. 6.

"him: and, in truth, if he had not at first driven "Antony from the city, all had been lost*. But as he found Octavius grow daily more and more untractable, so he began to exhort and implore Brutus, in every letter, to bring his army into Italy, as the only thing which could save them in their present circumstances: and, to enforce his own authority, he procured a vote also of the senate, to call him home, with his legions, to the defence of the Republic†.

At Rome, however, the general rejoicings stifled all present attention to the loss of their consuls; and Antony's friends were so dejected, for some time, that they gave Cicero no more opposition in the senate: where he poured out all imaginable honors on the deceased, Hirtius, Pansa, and Aquila; decreed an ovation to Cæsar, and added a number of days to their thanksgiving, in honor of D. Brutus; whose deliverance happening to fall upon his birth-day, he decreed, likewise, that his name should be ascribed ever after to that day, in the fasti, or public kalendars, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. Antony's adherents were also declared enemies: in which number Servilius him-

* Cæsaris vero pueri mirifica indoles virtutis. Utinam tam facile eum florentem & honoribus & gratia regere ac tenere possimus, ut adhuc tenuimus! est omninò illud difficilius: sed non diffidimus. Persuasum est enim adolescenti, & maxime per me, ejus opera nos esse salvos: & certe, nisi is Antonium ab urbe avertisset, periissent omnia. Ad Brut. 3.

† Te, cognita Senatus auctoritate, in Italiam adducere exercitum: quod ut faceres, idque maturares, magnopere desiderabat Respublica. Ad Brut. x.

self included Ventidius; and moved to give Cassius the command of the war against Dolabella; to whom Cicero joined Brutus, in case that he should find it useful to the Republic*.

The decree of an ovation to Octavius was blamed by Brutus and his friends†; yet seems to have been wisely and artfully designed: for, while it carried an appearance of honor, it would regularly have stript him of his power, if he had made use of it: since his commission was to expire of course, and his army to be dissolved, upon his first entrance into the city: but the confusion of the times made laws and customs of little effect with those who had the power to dispense with them.

The commanders abroad were so struck with Antony's defeat, that they redoubled their assurances to Cicero of their firmness and zeal for the common cause. Lepidus especially, who had suffered two of his lieutenants, Silanus and Culleo, to carry succours to Antony, at Modena, labors to excuse it in a civil and humble strain, and to persuade Cicero that they had done it against his orders; and though, for their former relation to him, he was unwilling to punish them with the last severity, yet he had not since employed them,

* A. d. v. Kalend. Maias cum de iis, qui hostes judicati sunt, bello persequendis, sententiæ dicerentur, dixit Servilius etiam de Ventidio, & ut Cassius persequeretur Dolabellam. Cui cum essem assensus, decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu, si arbitrarere utile—persequerere bello Dolabellam, &c. Ad Brut. 5. it. 15.

† Suspicor illud minus tibi probari, quod ab tuis familiaribus—non probatur, quod ut ovanti introire Cæsari liceret, decreverim. Ad Brut. 15.

or received them even into his camp. He acquaints him that Antony was arrived in his province with one legion, and a great multitude of men unarmed, but with all his horse, which was very strong; and that Ventidius had joined him with three legions; that he was marching out against him with all his forces, and that many of Antony's horse and foot daily deserted him.——That, for himself, he would never be wanting in his duty to the senate and the Republic:—thanks him for not giving credit to the false reports which were spread of him, and above all for the late honors that he had decreed to him:—begs him to expect every thing from him which could be expected from an honest man, and to take him under his special protection*.

Pollio, still more explicitly: that there was no time now for loitering, or expecting the orders of the senate:—that all who wished to preserve the empire, and the very name of the Roman people, ought to lend their present help:—that nothing was more dangerous, than to give Antony leisure to recollect himself:—that, for his part, he would neither desert nor survive the Republic—was grieved only for his being at such a distance, that he could not come so soon as he wished to its relief, &c†.

Plancus sent word, that he was taking all possible care to oppress Antony, if he came into that country.—That if he came without any considerable body of troops, he should be able to give a

* Ep. Fam. x. 34. † Ib. 33.

good account of him, though he should be received by Lepidus; or, if he brought any force with him, would undertake that he should do no harm in those parts, till they could send him succours sufficient to destroy him:—that he was then in a treaty with Lepidus, about uniting their forces in the same cause, by the mediation of Laterensis and Furnius; nor would be hindered, by his private quarrel to the man, from concurring with his greatest enemy in the service of the commonwealth*. In another letter, he speaks with great contempt of Antony's shattered forces, though joined with those of Ventidius, the mule-driver, as he calls him; and is confident, that, if he could have met with them, they would not have stood an hour before him†.

The conquerors, at Modena, were much censured in the mean time for giving Antony leisure to escape; but Octavius, from the beginning, had no thoughts of pursuing him: he had already gained what he aimed at; had reduced Antony's power so low, and raised his own so high, as to be in condition to make his own terms with him in the partition of the empire, of which he seems to have formed the plan from this moment; whereas, if Antony had been wholly destroyed, together with

* Ib. xi.

† Mihi enim si contigisset, ut prior occurrerem Antonio, non mehercule horam constitisset: tantum ego & mihi confido, & sic perculsas illius copias, Ventidiique mulionis castra despicio. Ib. 18.

the consuls, the Republican party would have probably been too strong for him and Lepidus; who, though master of a good army, was certainly a weak general*: when he was pressed, therefore, to pursue Antony, he contrived still to delay it till it was too late; taking himself to be more usefully employed in securing to his interests the troops of the consuls.

Cicero was particularly disgusted at Antony's escape, and often expostulates upon it with D. Brutus; he tells him, that if Antony should ever recover strength again, all his great services to the Republic would come to nothing—"it was reported," says he, "at Rome, and all people believed "it, that he was fled with a few unarmed, dis"pirited men, and himself almost broken-hearted; "but if it be so with him, as I hear it is, that you "cannot fight him again without danger, he does "not seem to have fled from Modena, but to have "changed only the seat of the war. Wherefore, men "are now quite different from what they were; "some even complain that you did not pursue "him; and think that he might have been de"stroyed if diligence had been used; such is "the temper of people, and above all of ours, "to abuse their liberty against those by whom "they obtained it: it is your part, however, to "take care that there be no real ground of com"plaint. The truth of the case is, he who op-

* Cum & Lepido omnes imperatores forent meliores, & multis Antonius, dum erat sobrius. Vell. Pat. 2. 63.

"presses Antony, puts an end to the war. What "the force of that is, it is better for you to con-"sider, than for me to write more explicitly*."

D. Brutus, in his answer, gives him the reasons, why he could not follow Antony so soon as he wished: "I had no horse," says he, "no carriages; "did not know that Hirtius was killed; had no "confidence in Cæsar before I met and talked with "him; thus the first day passed. The next morn-"ing early I was sent for by Pansa to Bologna; "but, on the road, met with an account of his "death: I ran back to my little army, for so I "may truly call it: it is extremely reduced, and "in sad condition for want of all things: so that "Antony gained two days of me, and made much "greater journeys in flying, than I could in pur-"suing; for his troops went straggling, mine in "order. Wherever he passed he opened all the "prisons, carried away the men, and stopt no-"where, till he came to the Fords. This place lies "between the Apennine and the Alps; a most dif-"ficult country to march through: when I was "thirty miles from him, and Ventidius had already "joined him, a copy of his speech was brought to "me, in which he begs of his soldiers to follow "him cross the Alps; and declares, that he acted "in concert with Lepidus: but the soldiers cried "out, especially those of Ventidius, for he has "very few of his own, that they would either con-"quer or perish in Italy; and began to beg, that

* Ep. Fam. xi. 12.

"he would go to Pollentia: when he could not "over-rule them, he put off his march to the next "day. Upon this intelligence, I presently sent "five cohorts before me to Pollentia, and fol-"lowed them myself with the army: my detach-"ment came to the place an hour before Trebel-"lius, with Antony's horse; this gave me an ex-"ceeding joy; for I esteem it equal to a victory, "&c*."

In another letter he says, that if Cæsar would have been persuaded by him to cross the Apennine, he could have reduced Antony to such straits, that he must have been destroyed by want, rather than the sword: but that they could neither command Cæsar, nor Cæsar his own troops; both which circumstances were very bad†, &c. This authentic account from D. Brutus confutes two facts, which are delivered by an old historian, and generally received by all the moderns; first, that Octavius, after the victory, refused to have any conference with D. Brutus; and that Brutus, for that reason, forbade him to enter his province, or to pursue Antony: secondly, that Pansa, in his last moments, sent for Octavius, and advised him to an union with Antony, against the senate‡. For it is evident, that, on the very day of the victory, there

* Ep. Fam. 13.

† Quod si me Cæsar audisset, atque Apenninum transisset, in tantas angustias Antonium compulissem, ut inopia potius quam ferro conficeretur. Sed neque Cæsari imperari potest, nec Cæsar exercitui suo: quod utrumque pessimum est.—Ib. x.

‡ Vid. Appian. l. 3. p. 573. it. Hist. Rom. par Catrou & Rouillé. T. 17. l. 4. p. 433, &c.

was actually a conference between the two first; which passed in so amicable a manner, as to ease Brutus of the jealousy which he had before conceived of Octavius: and Pansa's death happened so early the next morning, that it left no room for the pretended advice and speech, which is made for him to Octavius: especially since it appears, on the contrary, that, instead of Octavius, Pansa really sent for D. Brutus, when he found himself dying, as if disposed rather to communicate something for the service of that cause, in which he had lost his life. But both the stories were, undoubtedly, forged afterwards, to save Octavius's honor, and give a better color to that sudden change of measures, which, from this hour, he was determined to pursue*.

C. Antony was still a prisoner with M. Brutus, whose indulgence gave him an opportunity of practising upon the soldiers, and raising a sedition in the camp, which created no small trouble to Brutus. The soldiers, however, soon repented of their rashness, and killed the authors of it; and would have killed Antony too, if Brutus would have de-

* There is an original medal still remaining, that gives no small confirmation to this notion; and was struck, probably, at Rome, either by Pansa himself, upon his marching out towards Modena, or by the senate soon after Pansa's death, in testimony of the strict union that subsisted between him and D. Brutus Albinus. For on the one side there is the head of a Silenus, as it is called, or rather of Pan, which is frequent on Pansa's coins, with the inscription also of his name, C. PANSA: and on the other, ALBINVS. BRVTI. F. with two right hands joined, holding a Caduceus, as an emblem of the strictest amity and concord.—See Famil. Vibia. in Vaillant or Morel.—

livered him into their hands: but he could not be induced to take his life, though this was the second offence of the same kind; but, pretending that he would order him to be thrown into the sea, sent him to be secured on ship board, either from doing or suffering any farther mischief*: of which he wrote an account to Cicero, who returned the following answer.

"As to the sedition in the fourth legion, about "C. Antony, you will take what I say in good "part; I am better pleased with the severity of "the soldiers, than with yours. I am extremely "glad that you have had a trial of the affection of "your legions, and the horse—as to what you "write, that I am pursuing the Antonys much at "my ease, and praise me for it: I suppose you "really think so: but I do not, by any means, ap- "prove your distinction, when you say, that our "animosity ought to be exerted rather in prevent- "ing civil wars, than in revenging ourselves on "the vanquished. I differ widely from you, Bru- "tus, not that I yield to you in clemency; but a "salutary severity is always preferable to a spe- "cious shew of mercy. If we are so fond of par- "doning, there will be no end of civil wars: but "you are to look to that; for I can say of my- "self, what Plautus's old man says in the Trinum- "mus; life is almost over with me; it is you, who "are the most interested in it. You will be un- "done, Brutus, believe me, if you do not take "care: for you will not always have the people,

* Dio. l. 47. p. 340.

" nor the senate, nor a leader of the senate, the " same as now. Take this, as from the Pythian " Oracle; nothing can be more true*."

Brutus's wife, Porcia, notwithstanding the tragical story, which the old writers have dressed up, of the manner of her killing herself upon the news of her husband's unhappy fate†, died, most probably, about this time at Rome, of a lingering illness. She seems to have been in a bad state of health, when Brutus left Italy; where she is said to have parted from him with the utmost grief and floods of tears, as if conscious, that she was taking her last leave of him: and Plutarch says, that there was a letter of Brutus, extant in his days, if it was genuine, in which he lamented her death, and complained of his friends for neglecting her, in her last sickness: this, however, is certain, that in a letter to Atticus, he gives a hint of Porcia's indisposition, with a slight compliment to Atticus for his care of her‡: and the following letter of condolence to him from Cicero, can hardly be applied to any other occasion, but that of her death.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

" I should perform the same office which you " formerly did in my loss, of comforting you by " letter, did I not know, that you cannot want " those remedies in your grief, with which you re-

* Ad Brut. 2.
† App. l. iv. 669. Dio. l. 47. 356. Val. Max. 4. 6.
‡ Valetudinem Porciæ meæ tibi curæ esse, non miror. Ad Brut. 17.

" lieved mine. I wish only, that you may now " cure yourself more easily, than at that time you " cured me: for it would be strange, in so great a " man as you, not to be able to practise, what he " had prescribed to another. As for me, not only " the reasons, which you then collected, but your " very authority deterred me from indulging my " sorrow to excess. For when you thought me to " behave myself with greater softness than be- " came a man; especially one, who used to com- " fort others, you chid me with more severity " than it was usual for you to express; so that, " out of a reverence to your judgment, I roused " myself; and, by the accession of your authority, " took every thing that I had learnt or read, or " heard on that subject, to have the greater weight. " Yet, my part, Brutus, at that time, was only to " act agreeably to duty and to nature: but yours, " as we say, is to be acted on the stage, and before " the people. For when the eyes, not only of your " army, but of all the city, nay, of all the world, " are upon you, it is wholly indecent for one, by " whom we other mortals are made the stouter, to " betray any dejection or want of courage. You " have suffered, indeed, a great loss; (for you have " lost that, which has not left its fellow on earth) " and must be allowed to grieve under so cruel a " blow; lest to want all sense of grief should be " thought more wretched than grief itself: but to " do it with moderation, is both useful to others, " and necessary to yourself. I would write more, " if this was not already too much: we expect

"you and your army: without which, though all "other things succeed to our wishes, we shall "hardly ever be free*."

As the time of chusing magistrates now drew on, and particularly of filling up the colleges of priests, in which there were many vacancies, so Brutus was sending home many of his young nobles to appear as candidates at the election; the two Bibuluses, Domitius, Cato, Lentulus; whom he severally recommends to Cicero's protection. Cicero was desirous, that his son also should come with them, to be elected a priest; and wrote to Brutus, to know his mind about it; and if he thought proper, to send him away immediately; for though he might be chosen in absence, yet his success would be much easier, if he was present†. He touches this little affair in several of his letters; but, finding the public disorders increase still every day, he procured the election of priests to be thrown off to the next year: and Brutus having sent him word, in the mean while, that his son had actually left him, and was coming towards Rome, he instantly dispatched a messenger, to meet him on the road, with orders to send him back again, though he found him landed in Italy: since nothing, he says, could be more agreeable either to himself, or more honorable to his son, than his continuance with Brutus‡.

* Ad Brut. 9.

† Sed quamvis liceat absentis rationem haberi, tamen omnia sunt præsentibus faciliora—Ib. 5.

‡ Ego autem, cum ad me de Ciceronis abs te discessu scripsisses, statim extrusi tabellarios, litterasque ad Ciceronem; ut eti-

Not long after the battle of Modena, the news of Dolabella's defeat and death, from Asia, brought a fresh occasion of joy to Cicero, and his friends at Rome. Dolabella, after his success against Trebonius, having pillaged that province of its money, and of all things useful for war, marched forward to execute his grand design upon Syria; for which he had been making all this preparation: but Cassius was before-hand with him, and having got possession of that country, and of all the armies in it, was much superior to him in force. Dolabella, however, made his way with some success through Cilicia, and came before Antioch in Syria, but was denied admittance into it; and, after some vain attempts to take it, being repulsed with loss, marched to Laodicea; which had before invited, and now opened its gates to him. Here Cassius came up with him, and presently invested the place: where, after he had destroyed Dolabella's fleet, in two or three naval engagements, he shut him up closely by sea, as well as land: till Dolabella, seeing no way to escape, and the town unable to hold out any longer, killed himself, to prevent his falling alive into Cassius's hands, and suffering the same treatment which he had shewn to Trebonius: but Cassius generously ordered his body to be buried, with that of his lieutenant Octavius, who killed himself also with him*.

am si in Italiam venisset, ad te rediret. Nihil enim mihi jucundius, illi honestius. Quamquam aliquoties ei scripseram, Sacerdotum comitia, mea summa contentione in alterum annum esse rejecta, &c. Ad Brut. 14. vid. it. 5, 6, 7.

* Ep. Fam. 12, 13, 15. App. l. 4. 625. Dio. l. 47. 344.

D. Brutus was now at last pursuing Antony, or rather observing the motions of his flight: he had with him, besides his own forces, the new legions of the late consuls, while all the veterans put themselves under the command of Octavius: so that, after Antony was joined by Ventidius, with three legions, Brutus was hardly strong enough either to fight with him, or, what he rather aimed at, to hinder his crossing the Alps to Lepidus. He desired Cicero, therefore, to write to Lepidus, not to receive him, though he was sure, he says, that Lepidus would never do any thing that was right; and wishes, likewise, that Cicero would confirm Plancus; since, by some of Antony's papers, which fell into his hands, he perceived that Antony had not lost all hopes of him, and thought himself sure of Lepidus and Pollio: of which he gave Plancus immediate notice, and signified that he was coming forward with all expedition to join with him*. But he complains much, in all his letters, of his want of money, and the sad condition of his army, which was not contemptible for the number, but the kind of his troops; being, for the most part, new-raised men, bare, and needy of all things†. "I cannot,"

* In primis rogo te, ad hominem ventosissimum Lepidum mittas, ne bellum nobis redintegrare possit, Antonio sibi conjuncto. —Mihi persuasissimum est, Lepidum recte facturum nunquam— Plancum quoque confirmetis, oro; quem spero, pulso Antonio, Reipub. non defuturum. Ep. Fam. xi. 9.

Antonius ad Lepidum proficiscitur, ne de Planco quidem spem adhuc abjecit, ut ex libellis suis animadverti, qui in me inciderunt. Ib. 11.

† Cum sim cum tironibus egentissimis. Ib. 19.

says he, "maintain my soldiers any longer. When "I first undertook to free the Republic, I had "above three hundred thousand pounds of my "own, in money; but am now so far from having "any thing, that I have involved all my friends in "debt for me. I have seven legions to provide "for:—consider with what difficulty. Had I the "treasures of Varro, I could not support the ex-"pence*." He desired, therefore, a present supply of money, and some veteran legions, especially the fourth and Martial, which continued still with Octavius. This was decreed to him readily by the senate, at the motion of Drusus and Paullus, Lepidus's brother*: but Cicero wrote him word, that all who knew those legions the best, affirmed, that they would not be induced, by any terms, to serve under him: that money, however, should certainly be provided for him:—and concludes by observing, that if Lepidus should receive Antony, it would throw them again into great difficulties; but that it was Brutus's part to take care that they should have no cause to fear the event: for, as to himself, that he could not possibly do more than he had already done; but wished to see D. Brutus the greatest and most illustrious of men‡.

* Alere jam milites non possum. Cum ad Rempub. liberandam accessi, H. S. mihi fuit pecuniæ c c c c amplius. Tantum abest ut meæ rei familiaris liberum sit quidquam, ut omnes jam meos amicos ære alieno obstrinxerim. Septenum numerum nunc legionum alo, qua difficultate, tu arbitrare. Non, si Varronis thesauros haberem, subsistere sumptui possem. Ib. 10.

† Ep. Fam. xi. 19.

‡ Legionem Martiam & quartam negant, qui illas norunt ulla conditione ad te posse perduci. Pecuniæ, quam desideras, ratio

Plancus, as it is hinted above, was carrying on a negotiation with Lepidus, to unite their forces against Antony: it was managed, on Plancus's side, by Furnius; on Lepidus's, by Laterensis, one of his lieutenants, a true friend to the Republic, and zealous to engage his general to its interests; and Lepidus himself dissembled so well, as to persuade them of his sincerity; so that Plancus was marching forward, in great haste, to join with him, of which he gave Cicero a particular account.

PLANCUS to CICERO.

" After I had written my letters, I thought it of " service to the public, that you should be inform- " ed of what has since happened. My diligence, " I hope, has been of use both to myself and to the " commonwealth: for I have been treating with " Lepidus, by perpetual messages; that, laying " aside all former quarrels, he would be reconciled, " and succour the Republic in common with me, " and shew more regard to himself, his children, " and the city, than to a desperate abandoned rob- " ber; in which case, he might depend on my ser- " vice and assistance for all occasions: I transacted " the affair by Laterensis. He pawned his faith, " that, if he could not keep Antony out of his " province, he would pursue him by open war: " begged that I would come and join forces with

potest haberi, eaque habebitur—ego plus quam feci, facere non possum. Te tamen, id quod spero, omnium maximum & clarissimum videre cupio. Ib. 14.

" him; and so much the more, because Antony " was said to be strong in horse; whereas Lepi- " dus's could hardly be called indifferent: for, not " many days before, even out of his small number, " ten, who were reckoned his best, came over to " me. As soon as I was informed of this, I re- " solved, without delay, to support Lepidus in the " execution of his good intentions. I saw of what " benefit my joining him would be, either for pur- " suing and destroying Antony's horse with mine, " or for correcting and restraining, by the presence " of my army, the corrupt and disaffected part of " Lepidus's. Having made a bridge, therefore, in " one day, over the Isere, a very great river, in the " territory of the Allobroges, I passed, with my " army, on the twelfth of May: but, having been " informed that L. Antony was sent before, with " some horse and cohorts, to Forum Julii, I had sent " my brother, the day before, with four thousand " horse, to meet with him, intending to follow " myself, by great journies, with four legions, and " the rest of my horse, without the heavy baggage. " If we have any tolerable fortune for the Repub- " lic, we shall here put an end to the audacious- " ness of the desperate; and to all our own trou- " ble: but if the robber, upon hearing of my ar- " rival, should run back again into Italy, it will be " Brutus's part to meet with him there: who will " not be wanting, I know, either in counsel or " courage: but if that should happen, I will send " my brother also with the horse, to follow and " preserve Italy from being ravaged by him. Take

"care of your health, and love me as I love "you*."

But Lepidus was acting, all the while, a treacherous part, being determined, at all hazards, to support Antony; and though he kept him at a distance for some time, and seemed to be constrained, at last, by his own soldiers, to receive him; yet, that was only to save appearances, till he could do it with advantage and security to them both: his view in treating with Plancus was, probably, to amuse and draw him so near to them, that when he and Antony were actually joined, they might force him into the same measures, without his being able to help it, or to retreat from them. When he was upon the point, therefore, of joining camps with Antony, he sent word to Plancus, who was within forty miles of him, to stay where he then was, till he should come up to him: but Plancus, suspecting nothing, thought it better still to march on; till Laterensis, perceiving how things were turning, wrote him word, in all haste, that neither Lepidus, nor his army were to be trusted; and that he himself was deserted; exhorting Plancus to look to himself, lest he should be drawn into a snare, and to perform his duty to the Republic; for that he had discharged his faith, by giving him this warning†, &c.

* Ep. x. 15.

† At Laterensis, vir sanctissimus, suo chirographo mittit mihi litteras, in eisque desperans de se, de exercitu, de Lepidi fide, querensque se destitutum: in quibus aperte denuntiat, videam ne fallar: suam fidem solutam esse, Reipub. ne desim.—Ib. 21.

Plancus gave Cicero a particular account of all these transactions: he acquaints him, that Lepidus and Antony joined their camps on the twenty-eighth of May, and the same day marched forward towards him: of all which, he knew nothing, till they were come within twenty miles of him: that, upon the first intelligence of it, he retreated in all haste; repassed the Isere; and broke down the bridges, which he had built upon it, that he might have leisure to draw all his forces together, and join them with his colleague, D. Brutus, whom he expected in three days—that Laterensis, whose singular fidelity he should ever acknowledge, when he found himself duped by Lepidus, laid violent hands upon himself: but, being interrupted in the act, was thought likely to live—he desires, that Octavius might be sent to him with his forces; or if he could not come in person, that his army, however, might be sent, since his interest was so much concerned in it—that, as the whole body of the rebels was now drawn into one camp, they ought to act against them with the whole force of the Republic*, &c.

The day after his union with Antony, Lepidus wrote a short letter to the senate, wherein he calls the Gods and men to witness, that he had nothing so much at heart, as the public safety and liberty; of which he should shortly have given them proofs, had not fortune prevented him: for that his soldiers, by a general mutiny and sedition, had plainly

* Ep. Fam. x. 23.

forced him to take so great a multitude of citizens under his protection. He beseeches them, that, laying aside all their private grudges, they would consult the good of the whole Republic; nor, in a time of civil dissention, treat his clemency and that of his army as criminal and traitorous*.

D. Brutus, on the other hand, joined his army with Plancus, who acted with him for some time with great concord, and the affection of the whole province on their side: which being signified in their common letters to Rome, gave great hopes still and courage to all the honest there. In a letter of Plancus to Cicero, " you know," says he, " I imagine, the state of our forces; in my " camp, there are three veteran legions, with one " new, but the best of all others of that sort: in " Brutus's, one veteran legion, another of two years " standing, eight of new levies: so that our whole " army is great in number; little in strength: for " what small dependence there is on a fresh soldier, " we have oft experienced to our cost. If the " African troops, which are veteran, or Cæsar's " should join us, we should willingly put all to the " hazard of a battle: as I saw Cæsar's to be the " nearest, so I have never ceased to press him, nor " he to assure me, that he would come instantly, " though I perceive that he had no such thought, " and is quite gone off into other measures: yet, I " have sent our friend Furnius again to him, with " letters and instructions, if he can possibly do any

* Ib. 35.

"good with him. You know, my dear Cicero, "that, as to the love of young Cæsar, it belongs "to me in common with you: for, on the account "either of my intimacy with his uncle when alive, "it was necessary for me to protect and cherish "him; or because he himself, as far as I have "been able to observe, is of a most moderate and "gentle disposition; or that, after so remarkable "a friendship with C. Cæsar, it would be a shame "for me not to love him, even as my own child, "whom he had adopted for his son. But what I "now write, I write out of grief, rather than ill "will: that Antony now lives; that Lepidus is "joined with him; that they have no contempti-"ble army; that they have hopes, and dare pursue "them, is all entirely owing to Cæsar. I will not "recal what is long since passed: but if he had "come at the time, when he himself declared that "he would, the war would have been either now "ended, or removed, to their great disadvan-"tage, into Spain, a province utterly averse to "them. What motive, or whose counsels drew "him off from a part so glorious, nay, so neces-"sary too, and salutary to himself, and turned "him so absurdly to the thoughts of a two "months consulship, to the terror of all people, I "cannot possibly comprehend. His friends seem "capable of doing much good on this occasion, "both to himself and the Republic; and, above "all others, you, to whom he has greater obliga-"tions than any man living, except myself; for "I shall never forget, that I am indebted to you

"for the greatest. I have given orders to Furnius "to treat with him on these affairs; and if I had "as much authority with him, as I ought, should "do him great service. We, in the mean time, "have a very hard part to sustain in the war: for "we neither think it safe to venture a battle, nor "yet, by turning our backs, to give the enemy an "opportunity of doing greater mischief to the Re- "public: but if either Cæsar would regard his "honor, or the African legions come quickly, we "shall make you all easy from this quarter. I beg "you to continue your affection to me, and assure "yourself, that I am strictly yours*."

Upon the news of Lepidus's union with Antony, the senate, after some little time spent in considering the effects of it, being encouraged by the concord of D. Brutus and Plancus, and depending on the fidelity of their united forces, voted Lepidus an enemy, on the thirtieth of June; and demolished the gilt statue, which they had lately erected to him; reserving still a liberty to him and his adherents of returning to their duty by the first of September†. Lepidus's wife was M. Brutus's sister; by whom he had sons, whose fortunes were necesarily ruined by this vote, which confiscated the father's estate: for which reason Servilia, their grandmother, and Cassius's wife, their aunt, solicited Ci-

* Ep. Fam. x. 24.

† Lepidus tuus affinis, meus familiaris prid. Kal. Quint. sententiis omnibus hostis a Senatu judicatus est; cæterique qui una cum illo a Repub. defecerunt: quibus tamen ad sanitatem redeundi ante Kal. Sept. potestas facta est. Ep. Fam. 12. 10.

cero, very earnestly, either that the decree itself might not pass, or that the children should be excepted out of it: but Cicero could not consent to oblige them: for since the first was thought necessary, the second followed of course: he gave Brutus, however, a particular account of the case by letter.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

"Though I was just going to write to you by "Messala Corvinus, yet I would not let our friend "Vetus come without a letter. The Republic, "Brutus, is now in the utmost danger, and after "we had conquered, we are forced again to fight, "by the perfidy and madness of M. Lepidus. On "which occasion, when, for the care with which I "have charged myself of the Republic, I had "many things to make me uneasy, yet nothing "vexed me more, than that I could not yield to "the prayers of your mother and sister; for I "imagined that I should easily satisfy you, on "which I lay the greatest stress. For Lepidus's "case could not, by any means, be distinguished "from Antony's; nay, in all people's judgment, "was even worse; since, after he had received the "highest honors from the senate, and but a few "days before had sent an excellent letter to them; "on a sudden, he not only received the broken "remains of our enemies, but now wages a most

"cruel war against us by land and sea; the event "of which is wholly uncertain. When we are de- "sired, therefore, to extend mercy to his children, "not a word is said why, if their father should con- "quer, (which the Gods forbid) we are not to "expect the last punishment from him. I am not "ignorant how hard it is, that children should "suffer for the crimes of their parents: but it was "wisely contrived by the laws, that the love of "their children should make parents more affec- "tionate to their country. Wherefore, it is Le- "pidus who is cruel to his children, not he who "adjudges Lepidus an enemy; for if, laying down "his arms, he were to be condemned only of vio- "lence, in which no defence could be made for "him, his children would suffer the same calamity "by the confiscation of his estate. Yet what your "mother and sister are now soliciting against, in "favor of the children, the very same and much "worse, Lepidus, Antony, and our other enemies, "are, at this very moment, threatening to us all. "Wherefore, our greatest hope is in you and your "army: it is of the utmost consequence, both to "the Republic, in general, and to your honor and "glory in particular, that, as I wrote to you be- "fore, you come as soon as possible into Italy: "for the Republic is in great want, not only of "your forces, but of your counsels. I served "Vetus, with pleasure, as you desired me, for his "singular benevolence and duty to you: I found "him extremely zealous and affectionate both to

"you and the Republic: I shall see my son, I hope, "very soon; for I depend on his coming with you "quickly to Italy*."

Brutus, before he had received this letter, having heard, from other friends what they were designing at Rome against Lepidus, wrote about the same time, and on the same subject, to Cicero.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

"Other people's fears oblige me to entertain "some apprehensions, myself, on Lepidus's ac- "count: if he should withdraw himself from us, "(which will prove, I hope, a rash and injurious "suspicion of him) I beg and beseech you, Ci- "cero, conjuring you, by our friendship, and "your affection to me, to forget that my sister's "children are Lepidus's sons, and to consider me "in the place of their father. If I obtain this "of you, you will not scruple, I am sure, to do "whatever you can for them. Other people live dif- "ferently with their friends; but I can never do "enough for my sister's children to satisfy either "my inclination or my duty. But what is there in "which honest men can oblige me, (if in reality I "have deserved to be obliged in any thing) or in "which I can be of service to my mother, sister, and "the boys, if their uncle Brutus has not as much "weight with you and the senate to protect, as their "father Lepidus to hurt them? I feel so much un-

* Ad Brut. 12.

"easiness and indignation, that I neither can nor "ought to write more fully to you: for if, in a "case so important and so necessary, there could "be any occasion for words to excite and confirm "you, there is no hope that you will do what I "wish, and what is proper. Do not expect, there-"fore, any long prayers from me: consider only "what I am, and that I ought to obtain it, either "from Cicero, a man the most intimately united "with me; or, without regard to our private "friendship, from a consular senator of such emi-"nence: pray send me word as soon as you can "what you resolve to do. July the first*."

Cicero perceiving, from this letter, what he had no notion of before, how great a stress Brutus laid on procuring this favor for his nephews, prevailed with the senate to suspend the execution of their act, as far as it related to them, till the times were more settled†.

Lepidus and Antony were no sooner joined, than a correspondence was set on foot between them and Octavius; who, from the death of the consuls, shewed but little regard to the authority of Cicero, or the senate; and wanted only a pretence for breaking with them. He waited, however, a while, to see what became of Antony, till, finding him received and supported by Lepidus, he began to think it his best scheme to enter into the league with them; and to concur in what seemed

* Ib. 13.

† Sororis tuæ filiis quam diligenter consulam, spero te ex matris & ex sororis litteris cogniturum, &c. Ib. 15. it. 18.

to be more peculiarly his own part, the design of revenging the death of his uncle. Instead, therefore, of prosecuting the war any farther, he was persuaded by his friends to make a demand of the consulship, though he was not yet above twenty years old. This step shocked and terrified the city; not that the consulship could give him any power which his army had not already given, but as it indicated a dangerous and unseasonable ambition, grounded on a contempt of the laws, and the senate; and, above all. raised a just apprehension of some attempt against the public liberty: since, instead of leading his army where it was wanted and desired, against their enemies abroad, he chose to march with it towards Rome, as if he intended to subdue the Republic itself.

There was a report spread, in the mean while, through the empire, that Cicero was chosen consul: Brutus, mentioning it in a letter to him, says, "If I should ever see that day, I shall then begin "to figure to myself the true form of a Republic, "subsisting by its own strength *." It is certain, that he might have been declared consul by the unanimous suffrage of the people, if he had desired it; but, in times of such violence, the title of supreme magistrate, without a real power to support it, would have exposed him only to more immediate danger and insults from the soldiers, whose fastidious insolence in their demands, was grown,

* His litteris scriptis te Consulem factum audivimus; tum vero incipiam proponere mihi Rempub. justam & jam suis nitentem viribus, si isthuc videro. Ad Brut. 4.

as he complains, insupportable*. Some old writers say, what the moderns take implicitly from them, that he was duped, and drawn in by Octavius, to favor his pretensions to the consulship, by the hopes of being made his colleague, and governing him in the office†. But the contrary is evident from several of his letters; and that, of all men, he was the most averse to Octavius's design, and the most active in dissuading him from pursuing it. Writing upon it to Brutus: "as to Cæsar," says he, "who has been governed hitherto by my ad-"vice, and is, indeed, of an excellent disposition, "and wonderful firmness, some people, by most "wicked letters, messages, and fallacious accounts "of things, have pushed him to an assured hope "of the consulship. As soon as I perceived "it, I never ceased admonishing him in absence, "nor reproaching his friends, who are present, "and who seem to encourage his ambition: nor "did I scruple to lay open the source of those "traitorous counsels in the senate: nor do I ever "remember the senate or the magistrates to have "behaved better on any occasion: for, it never "happened before, in voting an extraordinary ho-"nor to a powerful, or rather most powerful man, "(since power is now measured by force and arms) "that no tribune, or any other magistrate, nor so "much as a private senator, would move for it: "yet, in the midst of all this firmness and virtue,

* Illudimur, Brute, cum militum deliciis, tum Imperatoris insolentia. Ib. 10.

† Plut. in Cic.

"the city is greatly alarmed: for we are abused, "Brutus, both by the licentiousness of the soldiers, "and the insolence of the general. Every one "demands to have as much power in the state, as "he has means to extort it: no reason, no modera- "tion, no law, no custom, no duty is at all re- "garded, no judgment or opinion of the citizens, "no shame of posterity, &c*."

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.---C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

What Cicero says in this letter, is very remarkable, that, in all this height of young Cæsar's power, there was not a magistrate, nor so much as a single senator, who would move for the decree of his consulship: the demand of it, therefore, was made by a deputation of his officers; and, when the senate received it more coldly than they expected, Cornelius, a centurion, throwing back his robe, and shewing them his sword, boldly declared, that if they would not make him consul, that should. But Octavius himself soon put an end to their scruples, by marching with his legions in an hostile manner to the city†; where he was chosen consul, with Q. Pe-

* Ad Brut. 10.

† Consulatum vigesimo ætatis anno invasit, admotis hostiliter ad urbem legionibus, missisque, qui sibi exercitus nomine deposcerent. Cum quidem, cunctante Senatu, Cornelius centurio, princeps legationis, rejecto sagulo, ostendens gladii capulum, non dubitasset in curia dicere; hic faciet, si vos non feceritis. Sueton. Aug. c. 26.

dius, his kinsman, and coheir in part of his uncle's estate, in the month of Sextilis; which, on the account of this fortunate beginning of his honors, was called afterwards, from his own surname, Augustus*.

The first act of his magistracy was to secure all the public money, which he found in Rome, and make a dividend of it to his soldiers. He complained loudly of the senate, that, instead of paying his army the rewards which they had decreed to them, they were contriving to harass them with perpetual toils, and to engage them in fresh wars against Lepidus and Antony; and likewise, that in the commission granted to ten senators, to provide lands for the legions after the war, they had not named him†. But there was no just ground for any such complaints; for those rewards were not decreed, nor intended to be distributed, till the war was quite ended; and the leaving Cæsar out of the commission was not from any particular slight, but a general exception of all, who had the command of armies, as improper to be employed in such a charge; though Cicero, indeed, was of a different opinion, and pressed for their being taken in. D. Brutus and Plancus were excluded as well as Cæsar; and both of them seem, likewise, to have been disgusted at it; so that Cicero, who was one of the number, in order to retrieve the impru-

* Sextilem mensem e suo cognomine nominavit, magis quam Septembrem, in quo erat natus, quia hoc sibi & primus Consulatus, &c. Sueton. Aug. 31.

† Appian. 3. 581.

dence of a step which gave such offence, would not suffer his colleagues to do any thing of moment, but reserved the whole affair to the arrival of Cæsar and the rest*.

But Cæsar, being now wholly bent on changing sides and measures, was glad to catch at every occasion of quarrelling with the senate: he charged them with calling him a boy, and treating him as such†; and found a pretext also against Cicero himself, whom, after all the services received from him, his present views obliged him to abandon: for some busy informers had told him, that Cicero had spoken of him in certain ambiguous terms, which carried a double meaning, either of advancing, or taking him off—which Octavius was desirous to have reported every where, and believed in the worst sense. D. Brutus gave Cicero the first notice of it in the following letter.

D. BRUTUS, Emperor, Consul-Elect, to M. T. CICERO.

"WHAT I do not feel on my own account, my "love and obligations to you make me feel on "yours; that is, fear. For after I had been often

* Cum ego sensissem, de iis qui exercitus haberent, sententiam ferri oportere, iidem illi, qui solent, reclamarunt. Itaque excepti etiam estis, me vehementer repugnante—itaque cum quidam de Collegis nostris agrariam curationem ligurirent, disturbavi rem, totamque integram vobis reservavi. Ep. Fam. xi. 21. it. 20, 23.

† Dio. l. 46. 318. Sueton. Aug. 12.

" told, what I did not wholly slight, Labeo Segu-" lius, a man always like himself, just now informs " me, that he has been with Cæsar, where there " was much discourse on you: that Cæsar himself " had no other complaint against you, but for a " certain saying, which he declared to have been " spoken by you; that the young man was to be " praised, adorned, taken off*; but he would not " be so silly, he said, as to put it into any man's " power, to take him off. This, I dare say, was " first carried to him, or forged by Segulius him-" self, and did not come from the young man. " Segulius had a mind, likewise, to persuade me, " that the veterans talk most angrily against you; " and that you are in danger from them; and that " the chief cause of their anger is, because neither " Cæsar nor I am in the commission of the ten, " but all things transacted by your will and plea-" sure: upon hearing this, though I was then upon " my march, I did not think it proper to pass the " Alps, till I could first learn how matters were " going amongst you†," &c.

To this Cicero answered.

" The Gods confound that Segulius, the greatest " knave, that is, or was, or ever will be. What? " do you imagine, that he told his story only to " you and to Cæsar? he told the same to every " soul that he could speak with: I love you, how-

* Laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum. Which last word signifies, either to raise to honors, or take away life.

† Ep. Fam. xi. 20.

"ever, my Brutus, as I ought, for acquainting me "with it, how trifling soever it be: 'tis a sure sign "of your affection. For as to what Segulius says, "of the complaint of the veterans, because you "and Cæsar were not in the commission, I wish "that I was not in it myelf; for what can be more "troublesome?—but when I proposed that those "who had the command of armies should be in-"cluded in it, the same men, who used to oppose "every thing, remonstrated against it; so that "you were excepted, wholly against my vote and "opinion*," &c.

As for the story of the words, he treats it, we see, as too contemptible to deserve an apology, or the pains of disclaiming it: and it seems, indeed, incredible, that a man of his prudence could ever say them. If he had harbored such a thought, or had been tempted, on any occasion, to throw out such a hint, we might have expected to find it in his letters to Brutus; yet, on the contrary, he speaks always of Octavius in terms highly advantageous, even where he was likely to give disgust by it. But nothing was more common than to have sayings forged for his, which he had never spoken; and this was one of that sort; contrived to instil a jealousy into Octavius, or to give him a handle, at least, for breaking with Cicero, which, in his present circumstances, he was glad to lay hold of: and when the story was once become public, and supposed to have gained credit with

* Ep. Fam. 21.

Octavius, it is not strange to find it taken up by the writers of the following ages, Velleius and Suetonius, though not without an intimation from the latter of its suspected credit*.

While the city was in the utmost consternation, on Cæsar's approach, with his army, two veteran legions, from Afric, happened to arrive in the Tiber, and were received as a succour sent to them from heaven: but this joy lasted not long; for, presently after their landing, being corrupted by the other soldiers, they deserted the senate, who sent for them, and joined themselves to Cæsar.—Pollio, likewise, about the same time, with two of his best legions, from Spain, came to the assistance of Antony and Lepidus: so that all the veterans of the western part of the empire were now plainly forming themselves into one body, to revenge the death of their old general. The consent of all these armies, and the unexpected turn of Antony's affairs, staggered the fidelity of Plancus, and induced him, also, at last, to desert his colleague, D. Brutus, with whom he had hitherto acted with much seeming concord: Pollio made his peace, and good terms for him, with Antony and Lepidus, and soon after brought him over to their camp, with all his troops.

D. Brutus, being thus abandoned, and left to shift for himself, with a needy, mutinous army, eager to desert, and ready to give him up to his enemies, had no other way to save himself, than by

* Vell. Pat. 2. 62. Sueton. Aug. c. 12.

flying to his namesake in Macedonia: but the distance was so great, and the country so guarded, that he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being taken; till, having dismissed all his attendants, and wandered for some time alone, in disguise and distress, he committed himself to the protection of an old acquaintance and host, whom he had formerly obliged; where, either through treachery or accident, he was surprised by Antony's soldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned with his head to their general*.

Several of the old writers have reproached his memory with a shameful cowardice, in the manner of suffering his death, unworthy of the man who had killed Cæsar, and commanded armies. But their accounts are so various, and so inconsistent with the character of his former life, that we may reasonably suspect them to be forged by those who were disposed to throw all kinds of contumely on the murderers of Cæsar†.

But what gave the greatest shock to the whole Republican party, was a law contrived by Cæsar, and published by his colleague, Pedius, to bring to trial and justice all those who had been concerned either in advising or effecting Cæsar's death: in consequence of which, all the conspirators were presently impeached, in form, by different accusers; and, as none of them ventured to appear to their citations, they were all condemned, of course;

* Vell. Pat. 2. 64. App. l. 3. 588.
† Senec. Ep. 82. 543. Dio. l. 46. 325. Val. Max. 9. 13.

and, by a second law, interdicted from fire and water: Pompey, also, though he had borne no part in that act, was added to the number, as an irreconcileable enemy to the Cæsarian cause: after which, Cæsar, to make amends for the unpopularity of his law, distributed to the citizens the legacies which his uncle had left them by will*.

Cicero foresaw that things might possibly take this turn, and Plancus himself prove treacherous; and, for that reason, was constantly pressing Brutus and Cassius to hasten to Italy, as the most effectual means to prevent it; every step that Cæsar took confirmed his apprehensions, and made him more importunate with them to come, especially after the union of Antony and Lepidus. In his letters to Brutus, "Fly to us," says he, "I beseech "you, and exhort Cassius to the same; for there is "no hope of liberty, but from your troops*. If "you have any regard for the Republic, for which "you were born, you must do it instantly; for the "war is renewed by the inconstancy of Lepidus; "and Cæsar's army, which was the best, is not "only of no service to us, but even obliges us to "call for your's: as soon as ever you touch Italy, "there is not a man, whom we can call a citizen, "who will not immediately be in your camp. We "have D. Brutus, indeed, happily united with

* App. l. 3. 586. Dio. 46. 322.

† Quamobrem advola, obsecro—hortare idem per litteras Cassium. Spes libertatis nusquam nisi in vestrorum castrorum principiis est. Ad Brut. 10.

"Plancus: but you are not ignorant how change-"able men's minds are, and how infected with "party, and how uncertain the events of war: "nay, should we conquer, as I hope we shall, "there will be a want of your advice and autho-"rity, to settle all affairs. Help us, therefore, for "God's sake, and as soon as possible; and assure "yourself that you did not do a greater service to "your country, on the Ides of March, when you "freed it from slavery, than you will do by com-"ing quickly*."

After many remonstrances of the same kind, he wrote also the following letter.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

"After I had often exhorted you, by letters, to "come as soon as possible to the relief of the Re-"public, and bring your army into Italy, and ne-"ver imagined that your own people had any "scruples about it, I was desired by that most pru-"dent and diligent woman, your mother, all whose "thoughts and cares are employed on you, that I "would come to her on the twenty-fourth of July; "which I did, as I ought, without delay. When I "came, I found Casca, Labeo, and Scaptius with "her. She presently entered into the affair, and

* Subveni igitur, per Deos, idque quam primum: tibique persuade, non te Idibus Martiis, quibus servitutem a tuis civibus repulisti, plus profuisse patriæ, quam, si mature veneris, profuturum. Ib. 14.

" asked my opinion, whether we should send for " you to Italy; and whether I thought it best for " you to come, or to continue abroad. I declared, " what I took to be the most for your honor and " reputation, that, without loss of time, you should " bring present help to the tottering and declining " state. For what mischief may not one expect " from that war, where the conquering armies re- " fused to pursue a flying enemy? where a general, " unhurt, unprovoked, possessed of the highest " honors, and the greatest fortunes, with a wife, " children, and near relation to you, has declared " war against the commonwealth? I may add, " where in so great a concord of the senate and " people, there resides still so much disorder within " the walls? but the greatest grief, which I feel, " while I am now writing, is to reflect, that when " the Republic had taken my word for a youth, or " rather a boy, I shall hardly have it in my power " to make good what I promised for him. For it " is a thing of much greater delicacy and moment, " to engage oneself for another's sentiments and " principles, especially in affairs of importance, " than for money: for money may be paid, and the " loss itself be tolerable: but how can you pay " what you are engaged for to the Republic, unless " he, for whom you stand engaged, will suffer it " to be paid? yet I am still in hopes to hold him; " though many are plucking him away from me: " for his disposition seems good, though his age be " flexible; and many always at hand to corrupt

" him; who, by throwing in his way the splendor " of false honor, think themselves sure of dazzling " his good sense and understanding. Wherefore, " to all my other labors, this new one is added, of " setting all engines at work to hold fast the young " man, lest I incur the imputation of rashness. " Though what rashness is it after all? for, in " reality, I bound him, for whom I was engaged, " more strongly than myself: nor has the Repub- " lic, as yet, any cause to repent, that I was his " sponsor: since he has, hitherto, been the more " firm and constant in acting for us, as well from " his own temper as for my promise. The greatest " difficulty in the Republic, if I mistake not, is the " want of money: for honest men grow every day " more and more averse to the name of tribute; " and what was gathered from the hundredth " penny, where the rich are shamefully rated, is " all spent in rewarding the two legions. There is " an infinite expence upon us, to support the ar- " mies, which now defend us; and also yours; " for our Cassius seems likely to come sufficiently " provided. But I long to talk over this, and " many other things, with you in person; and " that quickly. As to your sister's children, I did " not wait, Brutus, for your writing to me: the " times themselves, since the war will be drawn " into length, reserve the whole affair to you: but " from the first, when I could not foresee the con- " tinuance of the war, I pleaded the cause of the " children in the senate, in a manner, which you

"have been informed of, I guess, by your mother's "letters: nor can there ever be any case, where I "will not both say and do, even at the hazard of "my life, whatever I think agreeable either to your "inclination, or to your interest. The twenty-"sixth of July*."

In a letter, likewise, to Cassius, he says, "we "wish to see you in Italy, as soon as possible; and "shall imagine, that we have recovered the Re-"public, when we have you with us. We had "conquered nobly, if Lepidus had not received "the routed, disarmed, fugitive Antony: where-"fore Antony himself was never so odious to "the city, as Lepidus is now; for he began a "war upon us, from a turbulent state of things; "this man from peace and victory. We have the "Consuls elect to oppose him: in whom indeed we "have great hopes; yet not without an anxious "care for the uncertain events of battles. Assure "yourself, therefore, that all our dependence is on "you and your Brutus; that you are both expected, "but Brutus immediately†, &c.

But, after all these repeated remonstrances of Cicero, neither Brutus nor Cassius seem to have entertained the least thought of coming with their armies to Italy. Cassius, indeed, by being more remote, could not come so readily, and was not so much expected as Brutus; who, before the battle of Modena, had drawn down all his legions to the sea-coast, and kept them at Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, waiting the event of that action, and

* Ad Brut. 18. † Ep. Fam. 12. 10.

ready to embark for Italy if any accident had made his assistance necessary; for which Cicero highly commends him*. But, upon the news of Antony's defeat, taking all the danger to be over, he marched away directly to the remotest parts of Greece and Macedonia, to oppose the attempts of Dolabella; and, from that time, seemed deaf to the call of the senate, and to all Cicero's letters, which urged him so strongly to come to their relief. It is difficult, at this distance, to penetrate the motives of his conduct: he had a better opinion of Lepidus, than the rest of his party had; and being naturally positive, might affect to slight the apprehensions of Lepidus's treachery, which was the chief ground of their calling so earnestly for him. But he had other reasons also, which were thought to be good; since some of his friends at Rome, as we may collect from Cicero's letter, were of a different mind from Cicero on the subject of his coming. They might suspect the fidelity of his troops; and that they were not sufficiently confirmed and attached to him, to be trusted in the field against the veterans in Italy; whose example and invitation, when they came to face each other, might possibly induce them to desert, as the other armies had done, and betray their commanders. But whatever was their real motive, D. Brutus, who was the best judge of the state of things at home, was entirely of Cicero's opinion: he saw himself surrounded with

* Tuum consilium vehementer laudo, quod non prius exercitum Apollonia Dyrrhachioque movisti, quam de Antonii fuga audisti, Bruti eruptione, populi Romani victoria. Ad Brut. 2.

veteran armies, disaffected to the cause of liberty; knew the perfidy of Lepidus; the ambition of young Cæsar, and the irresolution of his colleague Plancus; and admonished Cicero, therefore, in all his letters, to urge his namesake to hasten his march to them*. So that, on the whole, it seems reasonable to believe, that, if Brutus and Cassius had marched with their armies towards Italy, at the time when Cicero first pressed it, before the defection of Plancus, and the death of Decimus, it must have prevented the immediate ruin of the Republic.

The want of money, of which Cicero complains at this time, as the greatest evil that they had to struggle with, is expressed also very strongly in another letter to Cornificius, the proconsul of Afric, who was urging him to provide a fund for the support of his legions: "As to the expence," says he, "which you have made, and are making in your "military preparations, it is not in my power to "help you; because the senate is now without a "head, by the death of the consuls, and there is "an incredible scarcity of money in the treasury; "which we are gathering, however, from all quar-"ters, to make good our promises to the troops, "that have deserved it of us; which cannot be "done, in my opinion, without a tribute†." This

* De Bruto autem nihil adhuc certi. Quem ego, quemadmodum præcipis, privatis litteris ad bellum commune vocare non desino. Ep. Fam. xi. 25. it. 26.

† De sumtu, quem te in rem militarem facere & fecisse dicis, nihil sane possum tibi opitulari, propterea quod & orbus Senatus, Consulibus amissis, & incredibiles angustiæ pecuniæ publicæ, &c. Ep. Fam. 12. 30.

tribute was a sort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man's substance, but had been wholly disused in Rome, from the conquest of Macedonia, by Paulus Æmilius, which furnished money and rents sufficient to ease the city ever after of that burthen, till the necessity of the present times obliged them to renew it*. But from what Cicero intimates of the general aversion to the revival of it, one cannot help observing the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected even the honest part of Rome; who, in this utmost exigency of the Republic, were shocked at the very mention of an extraordinary tax; and would not part with the least share of their money for the defence even of their liberty: the consequence of which was, what it must always be in the like case, that, by starving the cause, they found, not only their fortunes, but their lives also, soon after, at the mercy of their enemies. Cicero has a reflection in one of his speeches, that seems applicable also to the present case, and to be verified by the example of these times. "The Republic," says he, "is at-"tacked always with greater vigor, than it is de-"fended; for the audacious and profligate, prompt-"ed by their natural enmity to it, are easily im-"pelled to act upon the least nod of their leaders: "whereas the honest, I know not why, are gene-"rally slow, and unwilling to stir; and, neglecting "always the beginnings of things, are never roused

* At Perse Rege devicto Paulus, cum Macedonicis opibus veterem atque hereditariam Urbis nostræ paupertatem eo usque satiasset, ut illo tempore primum populus Romanus tributi præstandi onere se liberaret.—Val. Max. 4. 3. it. Plin. Hist. N. 33. 3.

"to exert themselves, but by the last necessity: "so that through irresolution and delay, when "they would be glad to compound at last for their "quiet, at the expence even of their honor, they "commonly lose them both*."

This observation will serve to vindicate the conduct of Cassius, from that charge of violence and cruelty, which he is said to have practised, in exacting money, and other necessaries, from the cities of Asia. He was engaged in an inexpiable war, where he must either conquer, or perish with the Republic itself; and where his legions were not only to be supported, but rewarded: the revenues of the empire were exhausted; contributions came in sparingly; and the states abroad were all desirous to stand neuter, as doubtful of the issue, and unwilling to offend either side. Under these difficulties, where money was necessary, and no way of procuring it but force, extortion became lawful; the necessity of the end justified the means; and, when the safety of the empire, and the liberty of Rome were at stake, it was no time to listen to scruples. This was Cassius's way of reasoning, and the ground of his acting; who applied all his thoughts to support the cause that he had undertaken, and kept his eyes, as Appian says, wholly fixt upon the war, as a gladiator upon his antagonist†.

* Pro Sextio 47.

† ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἀμεταστρεπτὶ, καθάπερ ἐς τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν οἱ μονομαχοῦντες, ἐς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον ἀφεώρα. App. l. 4. 667.

Brutus, on the other hand, being of a temper more mild and scrupulous, contented himself generally with the regular methods of raising money; and, from his love of philosophy, and the politer studies, having contracted an affection for the cities of Greece, instead of levying contributions, used to divert himself wherever he passed, with seeing their games and exercises, and presiding at their philosophical disputations, as if travelling rather for curiosity, than to provide materials for a bloody war*. When he and Cassius, therefore, met, the difference of their circumstances shewed the different effects of their conduct. Cassius, without receiving a penny from Rome, came rich and amply furnished with all the stores of war; Brutus, who had received large remittances from Italy, came empty and poor, and unable to support himself without the help of Cassius, who was forced to give him a third part of that treasure which he had been gathering with so much envy to himself for the common service†.

While Cicero was taking all this pains, and struggling thus gloriously in the support of their expiring liberty, Brutus, who was naturally peevish and querulous, being particularly chagrined by the unhappy turn of affairs in Italy, and judging of counsels by events, was disposed at last to throw all the blame upon him; charging him chiefly, that, by a profu-

* ὁ δὲ Βρȣ̃τος, ὅπη γίγνοιτο, καὶ φιλοθεάμων ἦν καὶ φιλήκοος, ἅτε καὶ φιλοσοφήσας ὐκ ἀγεννῶς. Ib.

† Plut. in Brut.

sion of honors on young Cæsar, he had inspired him with an ambition incompatible with the safety of the Republic, and armed him with that power which he was now employing to oppress it: whereas the truth is, that, by those honors, Cicero did not intend to give Cæsar any new power, but to apply that which he had acquired, by his own vigor, to the public service and the ruin of Antony; in which he succeeded even beyond expectation; and would certainly have gained his end, had he not been prevented by accidents which could not be foreseen. For it is evident, from the facts above-mentioned, that he was always jealous of Cæsar, and, instead of increasing, was contriving some check to his authority, till, by the death of the consuls, he slipt out of his hands, and became too strong to be managed by him any longer.—Brutus, by being at such a distance, was not well apprized of the particular grounds of granting those honors; but Decimus, who was all the while in Italy, saw the use and necessity of them, and seems to hint, in some of his letters, that they ought to have decreed still greater*.

But whatever Brutus, or any one else, may have said, if we reflect on Cicero's conduct, from the time of Cæsar's death to his own, we shall find it, in all respects, uniform, great, and glorious; never deviating from the grand point which he had in

* Mirabiliter, mi Brute, lætor, mea consilia, measque sententias a te probari, de Decemviris, de ornando adolescente. Ep. Fam. xi. 14. it. 20.

view, the liberty of his country; whereas, if we attend to Brutus's, we cannot help observing in it something strangely various and inconsistent with itself. In his outward manners and behaviour, he affected the rigor of a Stoic, and the severity of an old Roman; yet, by a natural tenderness and compassion, was oft betrayed into acts of an effeminate weakness. To restore the liberty of his country, he killed his friend and benefactor; and declares, that, for the same cause, he would have killed even his father*: yet he would not take Antony's life, though it was a necessary sacrifice to the same cause. When Dolabella had basely murdered Trebonius, and Antony openly approved the act, he could not be persuaded to make reprisals on C. Antony; but, through a vain ostentation of clemency, suffered him to live, though with danger to himself. When his brother-in-law, Lepidus, was declared an enemy, he expressed an absurd and peevish resentment of it, for the sake of his nephews, as if it would not have been in his power to have repaired their fortunes, if the Republic was ever restored; or, if not, in their father's. How contrary is this to the spirit of that old Brutus, from whom he derived his descent, and whom, in his general conduct, he pretended to imitate? He blames Cicero for dispensing honors too largely, yet claims an infinite share of them to himself;

* ——Non concesserim, quod in illo non tuli, sed ne patri quidem meo, si reviviscat, ut, patiente me, plus legibus ac Senatu possit. [Ad Brut. 16.] Sed dominum, ne parentem quidem, majores nostri voluerunt esse. Ib. 17.

4

and, when he had seized, by his private authority, what the senate, at Cicero's motion, confirmed to him, the most extraordinary command which had been granted to any man; he declares himself an enemy to all extraordinary commissions, in what hands soever they were lodged*. This inconsistency in his character, would tempt us to believe that he was governed, in many cases, by the pride and haughtiness of his temper, rather than by any constant and settled principles of philosophy, of which he is commonly thought so strict an observer.

Cicero, however, notwithstanding the peevishness of Brutus, omitted no opportunity of serving and supporting him to the very last. As soon as he perceived Cæsar's intention of revenging his uncle's death, he took all imaginable pains to dissuade him from it, and never ceased from exhorting him by letters to a reconciliation with Brutus, and the observance of that amnesty, which the senate had decreed, as the foundation of the public peace. This was certainly the best service which he could do, either to Brutus or the Republic; and Atticus, imagining that Brutus would be pleased with it, sent him a copy of what Cicero had written on that subject; but, instead of pleasing, it provoked Brutus only the more: he treated it as base and dishonorable to ask any thing of a boy,

* Ego certe—cum ipsa re bellum geram, hoc est cum regno, & imperiis extraordinariis & dominatione & potentia. Ad Brut. 17.

or to imagine the safety of Brutus to depend on any one but himself, and signified his mind upon it, both to Cicero and Atticus, in such a style, as confirms what Cicero had long before observed, and more than once declared of him, that his letters were generally churlish, unmannerly, and arrogant; and, that he regarded neither what, or to whom he was writing*. But their own letters to each other will be the best vouchers of what I have been remarking, and enable us to form the surest judgment of the different spirit and conduct of the men. After Brutus, therefore, had frequently intimated his dissatisfaction and dislike of Cicero's management, Cicero took occasion, in the following letter, to lay open the whole progress of it, from the time of Cæsar's death, in order to shew the reasonableness and necessity of each step.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

"You have Messala now with you. It is not "possible, therefore, for me to explain, by letter, "though ever so accurately drawn, the present state "of our affairs so exactly as he, who not only knows "them all more perfectly, but can describe them "more elegantly than any man; for I would not "have you imagine, Brutus, (though there is no oc- "casion to tell you, what you know already yourself,

* Ad Att. 6. 1. 3.

"but that I cannot pass over in silence such an "excellence of all good qualities:) I would not "have you imagine, I say, that, for probity, con- "stancy, and zeal for the Republic, there is any "one equal to him; so that eloquence, in which "he wonderfully excels, scarce finds a place among "his other praises: since, even in that, his wisdom "shines the most eminent, by his having formed "himself with so much judgment and skill to the "truest manner of speaking. Yet his industry, all "the while, is so remarkable, and he spends so "much of his time in study, that he seems to owe "but little to his parts, which still are the greatest. "But I am carried too far by my love for him: for "it is not the purpose of this epistle to praise Mes- "sala, especially to Brutus, to whom his virtue is "not less known than to myself, and these very "studies, which I am praising, still more: whom, "when I could not part with without regret, I "comforted myself by reflecting, that, by his go- "ing away to you, as it were, to my second self, "he both discharged his duty, and pursued the "surest path to glory. But so much for that*. I

* Publius Valerius Messala Corvinus, of whom Cicero here gives so fine a character, was one of the noblest, as well as the most accomplished persons of his age, who lived long afterwards, the general favorite of all parties, and a principal ornament of Augustus's court. Being in arms with Brutus, he was proscribed, of course, by the triumvirate, yet was excepted soon after by a special edict, but refused the benefit of that grace, and adhered to the cause of liberty, till he saw it expire, with his friend. After the battle of Philippi, the troops that remained freely offered them-

" come now, after a long interval, to consider a cer-
" tain letter of yours, in which, while you allow me
" to have done well in many things, you find fault
" with me for one; that, in conferring honors, I
" was too free, and even prodigal. You charge
" me with this; others, probably, with being too
" severe in punishing, or you yourself, perhaps,
" with both: if so, I desire that my judgment and
" sentiments on each may be clearly explained to

selves to his command; but he chose to accept peace, to which he was invited by the conquerors, and surrendered himself to Antony, with whom he had a particular acquaintance. When Cæsar was defeated, not long after, by S. Pompey, on the coast of Sicily, being in the utmost distress and danger of life, he committed himself, with one domestic, to the fidelity of Messala; who, instead of revenging himself on one who had so lately proscribed and set a price upon his head, generously protected and preserved him. He continued still in the friendship of Antony, till the scandal of Antony's life, and slavish obsequiousness to Cleopatra, threw him wholly into the interests of Cæsar, by whom he was declared consul, in Antony's place, greatly entrusted in the battle of Actium, and honored at last with a triumph, for reducing the rebellious Gauls to their obedience. He is celebrated by all writers, as one of the first orators of Rome; and, having been the disciple of Cicero, was thought, by some, to excel even his master, in the sweetness and correctness of his style; preserving always a dignity, and demonstrating his nobility, by the very manner of his speaking. To the perfection of his eloquence he had added all the accomplishments of the other liberal arts; was a great admirer of Socrates, and the severer studies of philosophy, yet an eminent patron of all the wits and poets of those times. Tibullus was the constant companion of all his foreign expeditions, which he celebrates in his elegies; and Horace, in one of his odes, calls for his choicest wines, for the entertainment of so noble a guest. Yet this polite and amiable man, impaired by sickness, and worn out at last by age, is said to have outlived his senses and memory, till he had forgotten even his very name. See App. p. 611, 736. Tacit. Dial. 18. Quintil. x. 1. Tibull. Eleg. lib. 1. 7. Hor. Carm. 3. 21. Plin. Hist. N. 7. 24.

"you: not that I mean to justify myself by the "authority of Solon, the wisest of the seven, and "the only legislator of them all, who used to say "that the public weal was comprised in two things "—rewards and punishments; in which, however, "as in every thing else, a certain medium and "temperament is to be observed. But it is not "my design, at this time, to discuss so great a "subject: I think it proper only to open the rea-"sons of my votes and opinions in the senate, from "the beginning of this war. After the death of "Cæsar, and those your memorable Ides of "March, you cannot forget, Brutus, what I de-"clared to have been omitted by you, and, what a "tempest I foresaw hanging over the Republic:—"you had freed us from a great plague; wiped off "a great stain from the Roman people; acquired "to yourselves divine glory: yet all the equipage "and furniture of kingly power was left still to "Lepidus and Antony; the one inconstant, the "other vicious; both of them afraid of peace, and "enemies to the public quiet. While these men "were eager to raise fresh disturbances in the Re-"public, we had no guard about us to oppose them, "though the whole city was eager and unanimous "in asserting its liberty: I was then thought too "violent; while you, perhaps more wisely, with-"drew yourselves from that city, which you had "delivered, and refused the help of all Italy, which "offered to arm itself in your cause. Wherefore, "when I saw the city in the hands of traitors, op-"pressed by the arms of Antony, and that neither

"you nor Cassius could be safe in it, I thought it "time for me to quit it too: for a city overpow- "ered by traitors, without the means of relieving "itself, is a wretched spectacle: yet my mind, al- "ways the same, and ever fixed on the love of my "country, could not bear the thought of leaving it "in its distress: in the midst, therefore, of my "voyage to Greece, and in the very season of the "Etesian winds, when an uncommon south wind, "as if displeased with my resolution, had driven "me back to Italy, I found you at Velia, and was "greatly concerned at it: for you were retreating, "Brutus; were retreating, I say; since your "stoics will not allow their wise man to fly. As "soon as I came to Rome, I exposed myself to the "wickedness and rage of Antony; and, when I "had exasperated him against me, began to enter "into measures, in the very manner of the Bru- "tuses, (for such are peculiar to your blood) for "delivering the Republic. I shall omit the long "recital of what followed, since it all relates to "myself, and observe only, that young Cæsar, by "whom, if we will confess the truth, we subsist at "this day, flowed from the source of my counsels. "I decreed him no honors, Brutus, but what were "due; none but what were necessary: for as soon "as we began to recover any liberty, and before the "virtue of D. Brutus had yet shewn itself so "far, that we could know its divine force; "and, while our whole defence was in the boy "who repelled Antony from our necks, what ho- "nor was not really due to him? though I gave "him nothing yet but the praise of words and

" that but moderate. I decreed him, indeed, a legal command: which, though it seemed honorable to one of that age, was yet necessary to one who had an army: for what is an army without the command of it? Philip voted him a statue; Servius the privilege of suing for offices before the legal time; which was shortened still by Servilius: nothing was then thought too much: but we are apt, I know not how, to be more liberal in fear, than grateful in success. When D. Brutus was delivered from the siege, a day of all others the most joyous to the city, which happened also to be his birth-day, I decreed, that his name should be ascribed for ever to that day, in the public kalendars. In which I followed the example of our ancestors, who paid the same honor to a woman, Larentia; at whose altar your priests perform sacred rites in the Velabrum: by giving this to D. Brutus, my design was, to fix in the kalendars a perpetual memorial of a most acceptable victory: but I perceived, on that day, that there was more malevolence than gratitude, in many of the senate. During these same days, I poured out honors (since you will have it so) on the deceased Hirtius, Pansa, and Aquila: and who can find fault with it, but those, who, when fear is once over, forget their past danger? But, besides the grateful remembrance of services, there was an use in it, which reached to posterity: for I was desirous, that there should remain an eternal monument of the public hatred to our most cruel enemies. There

"is one thing, I doubt, which does not please "you; for it does not please your friends here; "who, though excellent men, have but little expe- "rience in public affairs; that I decreed an ovation "to Cæsar: but, for my part, (though I may per- "haps be mistaken, for I am not one of those, who "approve nothing but what is my own;) I cannot "but think, that I have advised nothing more "prudent during this war. Why it is so, is not "proper to be explained, lest I be thought to have "been more provident in it than grateful: but "even this is too much: let us pass, therefore, to "other things. I decreed honors to D. Brutus; de- "creed them to Plancus: they must be men of "great souls, who are attracted by glory: but the "senate also is certainly wise, in trying every art "that is honest, by which it can engage any one "to the service of the Republic. But I am blam- "ed in the case of Lepidus: to whom, after I had "raised a statue in the rostra, I presently threw it "down. My view in that honor, was to reclaim "him from desperate measures; but the madness "of an inconstant man got the better of my pru- "dence: nor was there yet so much harm in erect- "ing, as good in demolishing the statue. But I "have said enough concerning honors; and must "say a word or two about punishments: for I have "often observed from your letters, that you are "fond of acquiring a reputation of clemency, by "your treatment of those whom you have con- "quered in war. I can imagine nothing to be "done by you, but what is wisely done: but to

"omit the punishing of wickedness, (which we call "pardoning) though it be tolerable in other cases, "I hold to be pernicious in this war. Of all the "civil wars, that have been in my memory, there "was not one, in which, what side soever got the "better, there would not have remained some form "of a commonwealth: yet, in this, what sort of a "Republic we are like to have, if we conquer, I "would not easily affirm; but if we are conquered, "we are sure to have none. My votes, therefore, "were severe against Antony; severe against Le-"pidus; not from any spirit of revenge, but to de-"ter wicked citizens, at present, from making war "against their country; and to leave an example "to posterity, that none hereafter should imitate "such rashness. Yet, this very vote was not more "mine, than it was every body's: in which there "seems, I own, to be something cruel, that the "punishment should reach to children who have "done nothing to deserve it: but the constitution "is both ancient, and of all cities: for even The-"mistocles's children were reduced to want: and "since the same punishment falls upon citizens, "condemned of public crimes, how was it possible "for us to be more gentle towards enemies? But "how can that man complain of me, who, if he had "conquered, must needs confess, that he would "have treated me even with more severity? You "have now the motives of my opinions in the case "of rewards and punishments: for as to other "points, you have heard, I imagine, what my sen-"timents and votes have been. But to talk of these

"things now is not necessary; what I am going "to say, is extremely so, Brutus; that you come "to Italy with your army as soon as possible. We "are in the utmost expectation of you: when- "ever you set foot in Italy, all the world will fly "to you: for whether it be our lot to conquer, "(as we had already done, if Lepidus had not been "desirous to overturn all, and perish himself with "his friends) there will be a great want of your "authority, for the settling some state of a city "amongst us; or if there be any danger and "struggle still behind, hasten to us for God's "sake: for you know how much depends on op- "portunity, how much on dispatch. What dili- "gence I shall use in the care of your sister's chil- "dren, you will soon know, I hope, from your "mother's and sister's letters: in whose cause I "have more regard to your will, which is ever most "dear to me, than, as some think, to my own con- "stancy: but it is my desire both to be, and to "appear constant, in nothing so much as in loving "you*.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

"I have read a part of your letter which you "sent to Octavius, transmitted to me by Atticus. "Your zeal and concern for my safety gave me "no new pleasure; for it is not only common, "but our daily news, to hear something which "you have said or done with your usual fidelity

* Ad Brut. 15.

" in the support of my honor and dignity. Yet " that same part of your letter affected me with the " most sensible grief which my mind could possibly " receive. For you compliment him so highly for " his services to the Republic, and in a strain so " suppliant and abject, that,—what shall I say?— " I am ashamed of the wretched state to which we " are reduced—yet it must be said—you recom- " mend my safety to him; to which what death is " not preferable? and plainly shew, that our ser- " vitude is not yet abolished, but our master only " changed. Recollect your words, and deny them, " if you dare, to be the prayers of a slave to his " king. There is one thing, you say, which is re- " quired and expected from him, that he would " allow those citizens to live in safety, of whom all " honest men, and the people of Rome, think well. " But what if he will not allow it? Shall we be " the less safe for that? It is better not to be safe " than to be saved by him. For my part, I can " never think all the Gods so averse to the pre- " servation of the Roman people, that Octavius " must be entreated for the life of any one citizen; " much less for the deliverers of the world. It " is a pleasure to me to talk thus magnificently; " and it even becomes me to those, who know not " either what to fear for any one, or what to ask of " any one. Can you allow Octavius to have this " power, and yet be his friend? or if you have any " value for me, would you wish to see me at Rome, " when I must first be recommended to the boy, " that he would permit me to be there? what rea- " son can you have to thank him, if you think it

"necessary to beg of him that he would grant and "suffer us to live with safety? or is it to be "reckoned a kindness, that he chuses to see him-"self, rather than Antony, in the condition to have "such petitions addressed to him? one may sup-"plicate, indeed, the successor, but never the abo-"lisher of a tyranny, that those who have deserved "well of the Republic may be safe. It was this "weakness and despair, not more blameable, in-"deed, in you than in all, which first pushed Cæsar "to the ambition of reigning; and, after his death, "encouraged Antony to think of seizing his place; "and has now raised this boy so high, that you "judge it necessary to address your prayers to "him for the preservation of men of our rank; "and that we can be saved only by the mercy of "one, scarce yet a man; and by no other means. "But if we had remembered ourselves to be Ro-"mans, these infamous men would not be more "daring to aim at dominion than we to repel it: "nor would Antony be more encouraged by Cæ-"sar's reign, than deterred by his fate. How can "you, a consular senator, and the avenger of so "many treasons (by suppressing which you have "but postponed our ruin, I fear, for a time,) re-"flect on what you have done, and yet approve "these things, or bear them so tamely, as to seem, "at least, to approve them? for what particular "grudge had you to Antony? no other, but that "he assumed all this to himself; that our lives "should be begged of him; our safety be preca-"rious, from whom he had received his liberty;

" and the Republic depend on his will and plea-
" sure. You thought it necessary to take arms, to
" prevent him from tyrannizing at this rate: but
" was it your intent, that, by preventing him,
" we might sue to another, who would suffer
" himself to be advanced into his place, or that
" the Republic might be free and mistress of it-
" self? as if our quarrel was not, perhaps, to sla-
" very, but to the conditions of it. But we might
" have had, not only an easy master in Antony, if
" we would have been content with that, but what-
" ever share with him we pleased of favors and
" honors. For what could he deny to those, whose
" patience, he saw, was the best support of his go-
" vernment? but nothing was of such value to us,
" that we would sell our faith and our liberty for
" it. This very boy, whom the name of Cæsar
" seems to incite against the destroyers of Cæsar,
" at what rate would he value it (if there was any
" room to traffic with him) to be enabled, by our
" help, to maintain his present power; since we
" have a mind to live, and to be rich, and to be
" called consulars? but then Cæsar must have pe-
" rished in vain: for what reason had we to rejoice
" at his death, if, after it, we were still to continue
" slaves? Let other people be as indolent as they
" please; but may the Gods and Goddesses deprive
" me sooner of every thing, than the resolution, not
" to allow to the heir of him, whom I killed, what
" I did not allow to the man himself; nor would
" suffer, even in my father, were he living, to have
" more power than the laws and the senate. How

"can you imagine, that any one can be free under "him, without whose leave there is no place for us in "that city? or how is it possible for you, after all, "to obtain what you ask? You ask, that he would "allow us to be safe. Shall we then receive safety, "think you, when we receive life? But how can "we receive it, if we first part with our honor and "our liberty? Do you fancy, that to live at Rome "is to be safe? It is the thing, and not the place, "which must secure that to me: for I was never "safe, while Cæsar lived, till I had resolved on "that attempt: nor can I, in any place, live in "exile, as long as I hate slavery and affronts above "all other evils. Is not this to fall back again into "the same state of darkness; when he, who has "taken upon him the name of the tyrant, (though "in the cities of Greece, when the tyrants are de- "troyed, their children also perish with them,) "must be entreated, that the avengers of tyranny "may be safe? Can I ever wish to see that city, "or think it a city, which would not accept li- "berty when offered, and even forced upon it, "but has more dread of the name of their late "king, in the person of a boy, than confidence in "itself; though it has seen that very king taken "off, in the height of all his power, by the virtue "of a few? As for me, do not recommend me "any more to your Cæsar, nor, indeed, yourself, "if you will hearken to me. You set a very high "value on the few years which remain to you "at that age, if, for the sake of them, you "can supplicate that boy. But take care, after

" all, lest what you have done, and are doing, so " laudably against Antony, instead of being " praised, as the effect of a great mind, be charged " to the account of your fear: for, if you are so " pleased with Octavius, as to petition him for our " safety, you will be thought not to have disliked " a master, but to have wanted a more friendly " one. As to your praising him for the things " that he has hitherto done, I entirely approve " it; for they deserved to be praised, provided that " he undertook them to repel other men's power, " not to advance his own. But, when you adjudge " him not only to have this power, but that you " ought to submit to it so far as to entreat him that " he would not destroy us, you pay him too great " a recompence; for you ascribe that very thing to " him, which the Republic seemed to enjoy through " him; nor does it ever enter into your thoughts, " that if Octavius be worthy of any honors, be- " cause he wages war with Antony, that those, " who extirpated the very evil of which these are " but the reliques, can never be sufficiently requited " by the Roman people, though they were to heap " upon them every thing which they could bestow: " but see how much stronger people's fears are than " their memories, because Antony still lives, and is " in arms. As to Cæsar, all that could and ought " to be done, is past, and cannot be recalled:—is " Octavius, then, a person of so great importance, " that the people of Rome are to expect from him " what he will determine upon us? or are we of so " little, that any single man is to be entreated for

" our safety? As for me, may I never return to
" you, if ever I either supplicate any man, or do not
" restrain those who are disposed to do it, from
" supplicating for themselves; or I will remove to
" a distance from all such, who can be slaves, and
" fancy myself at Rome, wherever I can live free,
" and shall pity you, whose fond desire of life, nei-
" ther age, nor honors, nor the example of other
" men's virtue, can moderate. For my part, I
" shall ever think myself happy, as long as I can
" please myself with the persuasion that my piety
" has been fully requited. For what can be hap-
" pier, than for a man, conscious of virtuous acts,
" and content with liberty, to despise all human
" affairs? Yet I will never yield to those who are
" fond of yielding, or be conquered by those who
" are willing to be conquered themselves; but will
" first try, and attempt every thing; nor ever desist
" from dragging our city out of slavery. If such
" fortune attends me as I ought to have, we shall
" all rejoice; if not, I shall rejoice myself. For
" how could this life be spent better, than in acts
" and thoughts, which tend to make my country-
" men free? I beg and beseech you, Cicero, not
" to desert the cause through weariness or diffi-
" dence: in repelling present evils, have your eye
" always on the future, lest they insinuate them-
" selves before you are aware. Consider that the
" fortitude and courage with which you delivered
" the Republic, when consul, and now again
" when consular, are nothing without constancy
" and equability. The case of tried virtue, I own,

"is harder than of untried: we require services "from it, as debts, and, if any thing disappoints "us, we blame with resentment, as if we had been "deceived. Wherefore, for Cicero to withstand "Antony, though it be a part highly commenda-"ble, yet, because such a consul seemed, of course, "to promise us such a consular, nobody wonders "at it: but if the same Cicero, in the case of "others, should waver at last in that resolution, "which he exerted with such firmness and great-"ness of mind against Antony, he would deprive "himself not only of the hopes of future glory, "but forfeit even that which is past: for nothing "is great in itself, but what flows from the result "of our judgment; nor does it become any man, "more than you, to love the Republic, and to be "the patron of liberty, on the account either of "your natural talents, or your former acts, or the "wishes and expectation of all men. Octavius, "therefore, must not be entreated to suffer us to "live in safety. Do you rather rouse yourself so "far, as to think that city, in which you have "acted the noblest part, free and flourishing, as "long as there are leaders still to the people, to re-"sist the designs of traitors*."

* Ad Brut. 16.

N. B.—There is a passage, indeed, in Brutus's letter to Atticus, where he intimates a reason of his complaint against Cicero, which was certainly a just one, if the fact of which he complains had been true; that Cicero had reproached Casca with the murder of Cæsar, and called him an assassin. "I do not know," says he, "what I can write to you, but this—that the ambition and licen-

If we compare these two letters, we shall perceive, in Cicero's, an extensive view and true judgment of things, tempered with the greatest politeness and affection for his friend, and an unwillingness to disgust, where he thought it necessary even to blame. In Brutus's, a churlish and morose arrogance, claiming infinite honors to himself, yet allowing none to any body else; insolently chiding and dictating to one as much superior to him in wisdom as he was in years; the whole turning upon that romantic maxim of the stoics, enforced without any regard to times and circumstances: that a wise man has a suf-

" tiousness of the boy has been inflamed, rather than restrained, " by Cicero, who carries his indulgence of him to such a length, as " not to refrain from abuses upon Casca, and such as must return " doubly upon himself, who has put to death more citizens than " one, and must first own himself to be an assassin, before he can " reproach Casca with what he objects to him." [Ep. Ad Brut. 17.] Manutius professes himself unable to conceive how Cicero should ever call Casca a murderer, yet cannot collect any thing less from Brutus's words. But the thing is impossible, and inconsistent with every word that Cicero had been saying, and every act that he had been doing, from the time of Cæsar's death: and, in relation particularly to Casca, we have seen above, how he refused to enter into any measures with Octavius, but upon the express condition of his suffering Casca to take quiet possession of the tribunate: it is certain, therefore, that Brutus had either been misinformed, or was charging Cicero with the consequential meaning of some saying, which was never intended by him; in advising Casca, perhaps, to manage Octavius, in that height of his power, with more temper and moderation, lest he should otherwise be provoked to consider him as an assassin, and treat him as such; for an intimation of that kind would have been sufficient to the fierce spirit of Brutus, for taking it as a direct condemnation of Casca's act of stabbing Cæsar, to which Cicero had always given the highest applause.

ficiency of all things within himself. There are, indeed, many noble sentiments in it, worthy of old Rome, which Cicero, in a proper season, would have recommended as warmly as he; yet they were not principles to act upon in a conjuncture so critical; and the rigid application of them is the less excusable in Brutus, because he himself did not always practise what he professed, but was too apt to forget both the stoic and the Roman.

Octavius had no sooner settled the affairs of the city, and subdued the senate to his mind, than he marched back towards Gaul, to meet Antony and Lepidus, who had already passed the Alps, and brought their armies into Italy, in order to have a personal interview with him, which had been privately concerted, for settling the terms of a triple league, and dividing the power and provinces of the empire among themselves. All the three were natural enemies to each other; competitors for empire, and aiming severally to possess what could not be obtained but with the ruin of the rest: their meeting, therefore, was not to establish any real amity or lasting concord, for that was impossible, but to suspend their own quarrels for the present, and with common forces to oppress their common enemies, the friends of liberty and the Republic; without which, all their several hopes and ambitious views must inevitably be blasted.

The place appointed for the interview was a small island, about two miles from Bononia, formed by

the river Rhenus, which runs near to that city*: here they met, as men of their character must necessarily meet, not without jealousy and suspicion of danger from each other; being all attended by their choicest troops, each with five legions, disposed in separate camps, within sight of the island. Lepidus entered it the first, as an equal friend to the other two, to see that the place was clear, and free from treachery; and when he had given the signal agreed upon, Antony and Octavius advanced from the opposite banks of the river, and passed into the island, by bridges, which they left guarded on each side, by three hundred of their own men. Their first care, instead of embracing, was to search one another, whether they had not brought daggers concealed under their clothes; and when that ceremony was over, Octavius took his seat betwixt the other two, in the most honorable place, on the account of his being consul.

In this situation they spent three days in a close conference, to adjust the plan of their accommodation; the substance of which was, that the three should be invested jointly with supreme power, for the term of five years, with the title of Triumvirs, for settling the state of the Republic: that they should act in all cases by common consent; nominate the magistrates and governors, both at home and abroad, and determine all affairs relating to the public by their sole will and pleasure: that Octavius should have, for his peculiar province, Afric, with Sicily, Sardinia, and the other islands of the

* Vid. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. 1. c. 28. p. 187.

Mediterranean; Lepidus, Spain, with the Narbonese Gaul; Antony, the other two Gauls, on both sides of the Alps; and to put them all upon a level, both in title and authority, that Octavius should resign the consulship to Ventidius, for the remainder of the year; that Antony and Octavius should prosecute the war against Brutus and Cassius, each of them at the head of twenty legions, and Lepidus, with three legions, be left to guard the city; and, at the end of the war, that eighteen cities or colonies, the best and richest of Italy, together with their lands and districts, should be taken from their owners, and assigned to the perpetual possession of the soldiers, as the reward of their faithful services. These conditions were published to their several armies, and received by them with acclamations of joy, and mutual gratulations for this happy union of their chiefs; which, at the desire of the soldiers, was ratified likewise by a marriage, agreed to be consummated between Octavius and Claudia, the daughter of Antony's wife Fulvia, by her first husband, P. Clodius.

The last thing that they adjusted was the list of a proscription, which they were determined to make of their enemies. This, as the writers tell us, occasioned much difficulty and warm contests amongst them; till each of them, in his turn, consented to sacrifice some of his best friends to the revenge and resentment of his colleagues. The whole list is said to have consisted of three hundred senators and two thousand knights, all doomed to die, for a crime the most unpardonable to tyrants

—their adherence to the cause of liberty. They reserved the publication of the general list to their arrival at Rome, excepting only a few of the most obnoxious, the heads of the Republican party, about seventeen in all, the chief of whom was Cicero. These they marked out for immediate destruction, and sent their emissaries away, directly, to surprise and murder them, before any notice could reach them of their danger: four of this number were presently taken, and killed, in the company of their friends, and the rest hunted out by the soldiers in private houses and temples; which presently filled the city with an universal terror and consternation, as if it had been taken by an enemy; so that the consul, Pedius, was forced to run about the streets all the night, to quiet the minds, and appease the fears, of the people; and, as soon as it was light, published the names of the seventeen who were principally sought for, with an assurance of safety and indemnity to all others: but he himself was so shocked and fatigued, by the horror of this night's woık, that he died the day following*.

We have no hint from any of Cicero's letters (for none remain to us of so low a date) what his sentiments were on this interview of the three chiefs, or what resolution he had taken in consequence of it. He could not but foresee that it must needs be fatal to him, if it passed to the sa-

* App. l. 4. init. Dio. p. 326. Plut. in Anton. & Cic. Vell. Pat. 2. 65.

tisfaction of Antony and Lepidus; for he had several times declared, that he expected the last severity from them, if ever they got the better. But whatever he had cause to apprehend, it is certain, that it was still in his power to avoid it, by going over to Brutus, in Macedonia; but he seems to have thought that remedy worse than the evil; and had so great an abhorrence of entering again, in his advanced age, into a civil war, and so little value for the few years of life which remained to him, that he declares it a thousand times better to die, than to seek his safety from camps*: and he was the more indifferent about what might happen to himself, since his son was removed from all immediate danger, by being already with Brutus.

The old historians endeavor to persuade us, that Cæsar did not give him up to the revenge of his colleagues, without the greatest reluctance, and after a struggle of two days to preserve him†: but all that tenderness was artificial, and a part assumed, to give the better color to his desertion of him. For Cicero's death was the natural effect of their union; and a necessary sacrifice to the common interest of the three: those, who met to destroy liberty, must come determined to destroy him; since his authority was too great to be suffered in an enemy, and experience had shewn, that nothing could make him a friend to the oppressors of his country.

* Reipub. vicem dolebo, quæ immortalis esse debet; mihi quidem quantulum reliqui est? [Ad Brut. x.] ἰτέον ergo in castra? millies mori melius, huic præsertim ætati: [Ad Att. 14. 22.] sed abesse hanc ætatem longe a sepulchro negant oportere. Ib. 16. 7.

† Plut. in Cic. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

Cæsar, therefore, was pleased with it, undoubtedly, as much as the rest, and when his pretended squeamishness was over-ruled, shewed himself more cruel and bloody, in urging the proscription, than either of the other two*. Nothing, says Velleius, was so shameful on this occasion, as that Cæsar should be forced to proscribe any man; or that Cicero, especially, should be proscribed by him†. But there was no force in the case: for though, to save Cæsar's honor, and to extort, as it were, Cicero from him, Lepidus gave up his own brother Paulus; and Antony his uncle, L. Cæsar, who were both actually put into the list; yet neither of them lost their lives, but were protected from any harm by the power of their relations‡.

If we look back a little, to take a general view of the conduct of these triumvirs, we shall see Antony, roused at once, by Cæsar's death, from the midst of pleasure and debauch, and a most abject obsequiousness to Cæsar's power, forming the true plan of his interest, and pursuing it with a surprising vigor and address; till, after many and almost insuperable difficulties, he obtained the sovereign dominion, which he aimed at. Lepidus was the chief instrument that he made use of; whom he employed very successfully at home, till he found himself in condition to support his pretensions alone, and then sent to the other side of

* Restitit aliquandiu Collegis, ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit, &c. Sueton. Aug. 27.

† Nihil tam indignum illo tempore fuit, quam quod aut Cæsar aliquem proscribere coactus est, aut ab illo Cicero proscriptus est. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

‡ Appian. l. 4. 610. Dio. l. 47. 330.

the Alps, that, in case of any disaster in Italy, he might be provided with a secure resource in his army. By this management he had ordered his affairs so artfully, that, by conquering at Modena, he would have made himself, probably, the sole master of Rome; while the only difference of being conquered, was to admit two partners with him into the empire; the one of whom, at least, he was sure always to govern.

Octavius's conduct was not less politic or vigorous: he had great parts, and an admirable genius, with a dissimulation sufficient to persuade, that he had good inclinations too. As his want of years and authority made it impossible for him to succeed immediately to his uncle's power, so his first business was, to keep the place vacant, till he should be more ripe for it; and to give the exclusion, in the mean while, to every body else. With this view, he acted the Republican with great gravity; put himself under the direction of Cicero; and was wholly governed by his advice, as far as his interest carried him; that is, to depress Antony, and drive him out of Italy; who was his immediate and most dangerous rival. Here he stopt short, and paused awhile, to consider what new measures this new state of things would suggest; when, by the unexpected death of the two consuls, finding himself, at once, the master of every thing at home, and Antony, by the help of Lepidus, rising again the stronger from his fall, he saw presently, that his best chance for empire was, to content himself with a share of it, till he should be in condition to seize

the whole; and from the same policy with which he joined himself with the Republic, to destroy Antony, he now joined with Antony, to oppress the Republic, as the best means of securing and advancing his own power.

Lepidus was the dupe of them both; a vain, weak, inconstant man; incapable of empire, yet aspiring to the possession of it; and abusing the most glorious opportunity of serving his country, to the ruin both of his country and himself. His wife was the sister of M. Brutus, and his true interest lay in adhering to that alliance: for if, by the advice of Laterensis, he had joined with Plancus and D. Brutus, to oppress Antony, and give liberty to Rome, the merit of that service, added to the dignity of his family and fortunes, would necessarily have made him the first citizen of a free Republic. But his weakness deprived him of that glory: he flattered himself, that the first share of power, which he seemed at present to possess, would give him, likewise, the first share of empire: not considering, that military power depends on the reputation and abilities of him who possesses it: in which, as his colleagues far excelled him, so they would be sure always to eclipse, and whenever they thought it proper, to destroy him. This he found afterwards to be the case, when Cæsar forced him to beg his life upon his knees, though at the head of twenty legions; and deposed him from that dignity which he knew not how to sustain*.

* Spoliata, quam tueri non poterat, dignitas. Vell. Pat. 2. 8.

Cicero was at his Tusculan villa, with his brother and nephew, when he first received the news of the proscription, and of their being included in it. It was the design of the triumvirate to keep it a secret, if possible, to the moment of execution; in order to surprise those whom they had destined to destruction, before they were aware of the danger, or had time to escape. But some of Cicero's friends founds means to give him early notice of it; upon which he set forward presently, with his brother and nephew, towards Astura, the nearest villa which he had upon the sea, with intent to transport themselves directly out of the reach of their enemies. But Quintus, being wholly unprepared for so sudden a voyage, resolved to turn back with his son to Rome, in confidence of lying concealed there, till they could provide money and necessaries for their support abroad. Cicero, in the mean while, found a vessel ready for him at Astura, in which he presently embarked: but the winds being cross and turbulent, and the sea wholly uneasy to him, after he had sailed about two leagues along the coast, he landed at Circæum, and spent a night near that place, in great anxiety and irresolution: the question was, what course he should steer; and whether he should fly to Brutus or to Cassius, or to S. Pompeius; but after all his deliberations, none of them pleased him so much as the expedient of dying*: so that, as Plutarch says, he had some

* Cremutius Cordus ait, Ciceroni, cum cogitasset, unumne Brutum an Cassium, an S. Pompeium peteret, omnia displicuisse præter mortem. Senec. Suasor. 6.

thoughts of returning to the city, and killing himself in Cæsar's house; in order to leave the guilt and curse of his blood upon Cæsar's perfidy and ingratitude: but the importunity of his servants prevailed with him to sail forwards to Cajeta, where he went again on shore, to repose himself in his Formian villa, about a mile from the coast; weary of life and the sea, and declaring, that he would die in that country, which he had so often saved*. Here he slept soundly for several hours; though, as some writers tell us, a great number of crows were fluttering all the while, and making a strange noise about his windows, as if to rouse and warn him of his approaching fate; and that one of them made its way into the chamber, and pulled away his very bed cloaths; till his slaves, admonished by this prodigy, and ashamed to see brute creatures more solicitous for his safety than themselves, forced him into his litter or portable chair, and carried him away towards the ship, through the private ways and walks of his woods; having just heard, that soldiers were already come into the country in quest of him, and not far from the villa. As soon as they were gone, the soldiers arrived at the house; and perceiving him to be fled, pursued immediately towards the sea, and overtook him in the wood. Their leader was one Popilius Lænas, a tribune or colonel of the army, whom Cicero had

† Tædium tandem eum & fugæ & vitæ cepit: regressusque ad superiorem villam, quæ paullo plus mille passibus a mari abest, moriar, inquit, in patria, sæpe servata. Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Suasor. 1. vid. it. Plut. Cic.

formerly defended and preserved in a capital cause. As soon as the soldiers appeared, the servants prepared themselves to fight, being resolved to defend their master's life at the hazard of their own: but Cicero commanded them to set him down, and to make no resistance*: then looking upon his executioners with a presence and firmness, which almost daunted them, and thrusting his neck as forwardly as he could out of the litter, he bade them do their work, and take what they wanted: upon which they presently cut off his head, and both his hands, and returned with them, in all haste and great joy, towards Rome, as the most agreeable present which they could possibly carry to Antony. Popilius charged himself with the conveyance, without reflecting on the infamy of carrying that head which had saved his own†: he found Antony in the forum, surrounded with guards and crouds of people; but, upon shewing from a distance the spoils which he brought, he was rewarded, upon the spot, with the honor of a crown, and about eight thousand pounds sterling. Antony ordered the head to be fixed upon the rostra, between the two hands: a sad spectacle to the city, and what drew tears from every eye; to see those mangled members, which used to exert themselves so gloriously from that place, in defence

* Satis constat servos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuisse ad dimicandum: ipsum deponi lecticam, & quietos pati, quod sors iniqua cogeret, jussisse. Liv. Fragm ib.

† Ea Sarcina, tanquam opimis spoliis alacer in urbem reversus est. Neque ei scelestum portanti onus succurrit, illud se caput ferre, quod pro capite ejus quondam peroraverat. Val. Max. 5. 3.

of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of the Roman people, so lamentably exposed to the scorn of sycophants and traitors. The deaths of the rest, says an historian of that age, caused only a private and particular sorrow, but Cicero's an universal one*: it was a triumph over the Republic itself; and seemed to confirm and establish the perpetual slavery of Rome. Antony considered it as such, and, satiated with Cicero's blood, declared the proscription at an end.

He was killed on the seventh of December, about ten days from the settlement of the triumvirate; after he had lived sixty-three years, eleven months, and five days†.

* Cæterorumque cædes privatos luctus excitaverunt; illa una communem—[Cremutius Cordus. apud Senec.] Civitas lacrymas tenere non potuit, quum recisum Ciceronis caput in illis suis rostris videretur. L. Flor. 4. 6.

† Vid. Plut. in Cic. Vell. Pat. 2. 64. Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Appian. l. 4. 601. Dio. l. 47. p. 330. Pighii Annal. ad A. U. 710.

SECTION XII.

THE story of Cicero's death continued fresh on the minds of the Romans for many ages after it; and was delivered down to posterity, with all its circumstances, as one of the most affecting and memorable events of their history: so that the spot on which it happened, seems to have been visited by travellers with a kind of religious reverence*. The odium of it fell chiefly on Antony; yet it left a stain of perfidy and ingratitude also on Augustus; which explains the reason of that silence which is observed about him by the writers of that age; and why his name is not so much as mentioned, either by Horace or Virgil. For though his character would have furnished a glorious subject for many noble lines, yet it was no subject for court poets; since the very mention of him must have been a satire on the prince; especially while Antony lived; among the sycophants of whose court, it was fashionable to insult his memory by all the methods of calumny that wit and malice could invent: nay Virgil, on an occasion that could hardly fail of bringing him to his mind, instead of doing justice to his merit, chose to do an injustice rather to Rome itself, by yielding the superiority of elo-

* Sæpe Clodio Ciceronem expellenti & Antonio occidenti, videmur irasci. Sen. de ira. 2. 2.

Κικέρων—φεύγων εἰς ἴδιον χωρίον, ὃ καθ' ἱστορίαν τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους εἶδον. App. p. 600.

quence to the Greeks, which they, themselves, had been forced to yield to Cicero*.

Livy, however, whose candour made Augustus call him a Pompeian†, while out of complaisance to the times, he seems to extenuate the crime of Cicero's murder, yet, after a high encomium of his virtues, declares, that to praise him as he deserved, required the eloquence of Cicero himself‡. Augustus, too, as Plutarch tells us, happening one day to catch his grandson reading one of Cicero's books, which, for fear of the emperor's displeasure, the boy endeavored to hide under his gown, took the book into his hands, and turning over a great part of it, gave it back again, and said, this was a learned man, my child, and a lover of his country§.

In the succeeding generation, as the particular envy to Cicero subsided, by the death of those whom private interests and personal quarrels had engaged to hate him when living, and defame him when dead, so his name and memory began to shine

* —Orabunt causas melius, &c. Æn. 6. 849.

† T. Livius—Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret. Tacit. Ann. 4. 34.

‡ —Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia pensarit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, & in cujus laudes sequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit. Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Suasor. 6.

§ Plut. vit. Cic. There is another story of the same kind recorded by Macrobius, to shew Augustus's moderation with regard also to Cato: that Augustus being one day in the house which had belonged to Cato, where the master of it, out of compliment to his great guest, took occasion to reflect on Cato's perverseness, he stopped him short, by saying, that he who would suffer no change in the constitution of his city, was a good citizen, and honest man: but, by this character of Cato's honesty, he gave a severe wound to his own, who not only changed but usurped, the government of his country. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 4.

out in its proper lustre: and in the reign even of Tiberius, when an eminent senator and historian, Cremutius Cordus, was condemned to die for praising Brutus, yet Paterculus could not forbear breaking out into the following warm expostulation with Antony, on the subject of Cicero's death: "Thou hast done nothing, Antony; hast done no-"thing, I say, by setting a price on that divine "and illustrious head, and by a detestable reward, "procuring the death of so great a consul and pre-"server of the Republic. Thou hast snatched from "Cicero a troublesome being; a declining age; a "life more miserable under thy dominion, than "death itself; but, so far from diminishing the "glory of his deeds and sayings, thou hast in-"creased it. He lives, and will live, in the me-"mory of all ages; and, as long as this system of "nature, whether by chance or providence, or "what way soever formed, which he alone, of all "the Romans, comprehended in his mind, and il-"lustrated by his eloquence, shall remain entire, it "will draw the praises of Cicero along with it; and "all posterity will admire his writings against thee, "curse thy act against him—*."

From this period, all the Roman writers, whether poets or historians, seem to vie with each other in celebrating the praises of Cicero, as the most illustrious of all their patriots, and the parent of the Roman wit and eloquence; who had done more honor to his country, by his writings, than all their conquerors by their arms, and extended the bounds

* Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

of their learning beyond those of their empire*. So that their very emperors, near three centuries after his death, began to reverence him in the class of their inferior deities†: a rank which he would have preserved to this day, if he had happened to live in papal Rome, where he could not have failed, as Erasmus says, from the innocence of his life, of obtaining the honor and title of a saint‡.

As to his person, he was tall and slender, with a neck particularly long; yet his features were regular and manly; preserving a comeliness and dignity to the last, with a certain air of cheerfulness and serenity, that imprinted both affection and respect§. His constitution was naturally weak, yet was so confirmed by his management of it, as to enable him to support all the fatigues of the most active, as well as the most studious life, with perpetual health and vigor. The care that he employed upon his body consisted chiefly in bathing and rubbing, with a few turns every day in his gardens, for the refreshment of his voice from the labor of the bar‖: yet, in the summer, he generally gave

* Facundiæ, latiarumque literarum parens—atque—omnium triumphorum lauream adepte majorem, quanto plus est ingenii Romani terminos in tantum promovisse, quam imperii. Plin. Hist. 7. 30.

Qui effecit, ne quorum arma viceramus, eorum ingenio vinceremur. Vell. Pat. 2. 34.

† Lamprid. vit. Alex. Sever. c. 31.

‡ Quem arbitror, si Christianam philosophiam didicisset, in eorum numero censendum fuisse, qui nunc ob vitam innocenter pieque transactam, pro Divis honorantur. Erasm. Ciceronian. vers. finem.

§ Ei quidem facies decora ad senectutem, prosperaque permansit valetudo. Asin. Poll. apud Senec. Suasor. 6.

‖ Cum recreandæ voculæ causa, mihi necesse esset ambulare. Ad Att. 2. 23. Plut. in vit.

himself the exercise of a journey, to visit his several estates and villas in different parts of Italy. But his principal instrument of health, was diet and temperance: by these, he preserved himself from all violent distempers; and, when he happened to be attacked by any slight indisposition, used to enforce the severity of his abstinence, and starve it presently by fasting*.

In his clothes and dress, which the wise have usually considered as an index of the mind, he observed, what he prescribes in his Book of Offices, a modesty and decency, adapted to his rank and character: a perpetual cleanliness, without the appearance of pains; free from the affectation of singularity; and avoiding the extremes of a rustic negligence, and foppish delicacy†: both of which are equally contrary to true dignity; the one implying an ignorance, or illiberal contempt of it; the other a childish pride and ostentation of proclaiming our pretensions to it.

In his domestic and social life, his behaviour was very amiable: he was a most indulgent parent, a sincere and zealous friend, a kind and generous master. His letters are full of the tenderest expressions of his love for his children; in whose endearing conversation, as he often tells us, he used to drop all his cares, and relieve himself from all

* Cum quidem biduum ita jejunus fuissem, ut ne aquam quidem gustaram. Ep. Fam. 7. 26. vid. Plut.

† Adhibenda munditia non odiosa, neque exquisita nimis; tantum quæ fugiat agrestem & inhumanam negligentiam. Eadem ratio est habenda vestitus: in quo, sicut in plerisque rebus, mediocritas optima est. De Offic. 1. 36.

his struggles in the senate and the forum*. The same affection, in an inferior degree, was extended also to his slaves; when, by their fidelity and services, they had recommended themselves to his favor. We have seen a remarkable instance of it in Tiro, whose case was no otherwise different from the rest, than as it was distinguished by the superiority of his merit. In one of his letters to Atticus, "I have nothing more," says he, "to write; "and my mind, indeed, is somewhat ruffled at present; for Sositheus, my reader, is dead; a hopeful youth, which has afflicted me more than one "would imagine the death of a slave ought to "do†."

He entertained very high notions of friendship; and of its excellent use and benefit to human life; which he has beautifully illustrated in his entertaining treatise on that subject, where he lays down no other rules, than what he exemplified by his practice. For in all the variety of friendships, in which his eminent rank engaged him, he was never charged with deceiving, deserting, or even slighting any one, whom he had once called his friend, or esteemed an honest man. It was his delight to advance their prosperity, to relieve their adversity; the same friend to both fortunes; but more zealous only in the bad, where his help was the most wanted, and his services the most disinterested; looking upon it not as a friendship, but a sordid

* Ut tantum requietis habeam, quantum cum uxore, & filiola, & mellito Cicerone consumitur. Ad Att. 1. 18.

† Nam puer festivus, anagnostes noster, Sositheus decesserat, meque plus quam servi mors debere videbatur, commoverat. Ad Att. 1. 12.

traffic and merchandize of benefits, where good offices are to be weighed by a nice estimate of gain and loss*. He calls gratitude the mother of virtues; reckons it the most capital of all duties; and uses the words, grateful and good, as terms synonimous, and inseparably united in the same character. His writings abound with sentiments of this sort, as his life did with the examples of them†; so that one of his friends, in apologising for the importunity of a request, observes to him, with great truth, that the tenor of his life would be a sufficient excuse for it; since he had established such a custom, of doing every thing for his friends, that they no longer requested, but claimed a right to command him‡.

Yet he was not more generous to his friends than placable to his enemies; readily pardoning the greatest injuries upon the slightest submission; and though no man ever had greater abilities or opportunities of revenging himself, yet, when it was in his power to hurt, he sought out reasons to forgive; and whenever he was invited to it, never declined a reconciliation with his most inveterate

* Ubi illa sancta amicitia? si non ipse amicus per se amatur toto pectore. [de Leg. 1. 18.] quam si ad fructum nostrum referemus, non ad illius commoda, quem diligimus, non erit ista amicitia, sed mercatura quædam utilitatum suarum. De Nat. Deor. 1. 44.

† Cum omnibus virtutibus me affectum esse cupiam, tamen nihil est quod malim, quam me & gratum esse & videri. Est enim hæc una virtus non solum maxima, sed etiam mater virtutum omnium—quæ potest esse jucunditas vitæ sublatis amicitiis? quæ porro amicitia potest esse inter ingratos? Pro. Planc. 33. de Fin. 2. 22.

‡ Nam quod ita consueris pro amicis laborare, non jam sic sperant abs te, sed etiam sic imperant tibi familiares. Ep. Fam. 6. 7.

enemies; of which there are numerous instances in his history. He declared nothing to be more laudable and worthy of a great man, than placability; and laid it down, for a natural duty, to moderate our revenge, and observe a temper in punishing; and held repentance to be a sufficient ground for remitting it: and it was one of his sayings, delivered to a public assembly, that his enmities were mortal, his friendships immortal*.

His manner of living was agreeable to the dignity of his character; splendid and noble: his house was open to all the learned strangers and philosophers of Greece and Asia; several of whom were constantly entertained in it, as part of his family, and spent their whole lives with him†. His levee was perpetually crowded with multitudes of all ranks; even Pompey, himself, not disdaining to frequent it. The greatest part came, not only to pay their compliments, but to attend him on days of business to the senate or the forum; where, upon any debate or transaction of moment, they constantly waited to conduct him home again: but, on ordinary days, when these morning visits were

* Est enim ulciscendi & puniendi modus. Atque haud scio, an satis sit, eum, qui lacessierit, injuriæ suæ pœnitere. [de Offic. 1. xi.] nihil enim laudabilius, nihil magno viro dignius, placabilitate & clementia. [ib. 25.]

Cum parcere vel lædere potuissem, ignoscendi quærebam causas, non puniendi occasiones—Fragm. Cic. ex Marcellino.—

Neque vero me pœnitet mortales inimicitias, sempiternas amicitias habere. Pro C. Rabir. Post. 12.

† Doctissimorum hominum familiaritates, quibus semper domus nostra floruit, & Principes illi, Diodotus, Philo, Antiochus, Posidonius, a quibus instituti sumus. De Nat. Deor. 1. 3.

Eram cum Diodoto Stoico; qui cum habitavisset apud me, mecumque vixisset, nuper est domi meæ mortuus. Brut. 433.

over, as they usually were before ten, he retired to his books, and shut himself up in his library, without seeking any other diversion, but what his children afforded to the short intervals of his leisure*. His supper was his greatest meal; and the usual season with all the great of enjoying their friends at table, which was frequently prolonged to a late hour of the night: yet he was out of his bed every morning before it was light; and never used to sleep again at noon, as all others generally did, and as it is commonly practised in Rome to this day†.

But though he was so temperate and studious, yet, when he was engaged to sup with others, either at home or abroad, he laid aside his rules, and forgot the invalid; and was gay and sprightly, and the very soul of the company. When friends were met together, to heighten the comforts of social life, he thought it inhospitable, not to contribute his share to their common mirth, or to damp it by a churlish reservedness. But he was really a lover of cheerful entertainments; being of a nature remarkably facetious, and singularly turned to raillery‡: a talent, which was of great service to him

* Cum bene completa domus est tempore matutino, cum ad forum stipati gregibus, amicorum descendimus—Ad Att. 1. 18.

Mane salutamus domi bonos viros multos—ubi salutatio defluxit litteris me involvo—[Ep. Fam. 9. 20.] Cum salutationi nos dedimus amicorum—abdo me in Bibliothecam. Ep. Fam. 7. 28.

Post horam quartam molesti cæteri non sunt. Ad Att. 2. 14.

† Nunc quidem propter intermissionem forensis operæ, & lucubrationes detraxi & meridiationes addidi, quibus uti antea non solebam. De Div. 2. 58.

‡ Ego autem, existimes quod lubet, mirifice capior facetiis, maxime nostratibus.—[Ep. Fam. 9. 15.] Nec id ad voluptatem

at the bar, to correct the petulance of an adversary; relieve the satiety of a tedious cause; divert the minds of the judges; and mitigate the rigor of a sentence, by making both the bench and audience merry at the expence of the accuser*.

This use of it was always thought fair, and greatly applauded in public trials; but in private conversations, he was charged, sometimes, with pushing his raillery too far; and, through a consciousness of his superior wit, exerting it often intemperately, without reflecting what cruel wounds his lashes inflicted†. Yet, of all his sarcastical jokes, which are transmitted to us by antiquity, we shall not observe any, but what were pointed against characters, either ridiculous or profligate; such as he despised for their follies, or hated for their vices; and though he might provoke the spleen, and quicken the malice of enemies, more than was consistent with a regard to his own ease, yet he never appears to have hurt or lost a friend, or any one whom he valued, by the levity of jesting.

refero, sed ad communitatem vitæ atque victus, remissionemque animorum, quæ maxime sermone efficitur familiari, qui est in conviviis dulcissimus—[ib. 24.] convivio delector. Ibi loquor quod in solum, ut dicitur, & gemitum etiam in risus maximos transfero. [ib. 26.]

* —Suavis est & vehementer sæpe utilis jocus & facetiæ—multum in causis persæpe lepore & facetiis profici vidi. De Orat. 2. 54.

Quæ risum judicis movendo & illos tristes solvit affectus, & animum ab intentione rerum frequenter avertit, & aliquando etiam reficit, & a satietate vel a fatigatione renovat. Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

† Noster vero non solum extra judicia, sed in ipsis etiam orationibus habitus est nimius risus affectator—ib. vid. Plut.

It is certain that the fame of his wit was as celebrated as that of his eloquence, and that several spurious collections of his sayings were handed about, in Rome, in his life-time*; till his friend Trebonius, after he had been consul, thought it worth while to publish an authentic edition of them, in a volume which he addressed to Cicero himself†. Cæsar, likewise, in the height of his power, having taken a fancy to collect the apophthegms, or memorable sayings of eminent men, gave strict orders to all his friends, who used to frequent Cicero, to bring him every thing of that sort, which happened to drop from him in their company‡. But Tiro, Cicero's freed-man, who served him chiefly in his studies and literary affairs, published, after his death, the most perfect collection of his sayings, in three books: where Quintilian, however, wishes that he had been more sparing in the number, and judicious in the choice of them§. None of these books are now remaining, nor any other specimen of the jests, but what are incidentally scattered in different parts of his own and other people's writings; which, as the same judicious critic observes,

* Ais enim, ut ego discesserim, omnia omnium dicta—in me conferri—Ep. Fam. 7. 32. it. 9. 16.

† Liber iste, quem mihi misisti, quantum habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortasse non item: deinde, quod illa, sive faceta sunt, sive sic fiunt, narrante te, venustissima.—Ep. fam. 15. 21.

‡ Audio Cæsarem, cum volumina jam confecerit ἀποφθεγμάτων, si quod afferatur pro meo, quod meum non sit, rejicere solere—hæc ad illum cum reliquis actis perferuntur; ita enim ipse mandavit. Ep. Fam. 9. 16.

§ Utinam libertus ejus Tiro, aut alius quisquis fuit, qui tres hac de re libros edidit, parcius dictorum numero indulsisset—& plus judicii in eligendis, quam in congerendis studii adhibuisset.—Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

through the change of taste in different ages, and the want of that action or gesture, which gave the chief spirit to many of them, could never be explained to advantage, though several had attempted it. How much more cold, then, and insipid, must they needs appear to us, who are unacquainted with the particular characters and stories to which they relate, as well as the peculiar fashions, humor, and taste of wit, in that age? Yet, even in these, as Quintilian also tells us, as well as in his other compositions, people would sooner find what they might reject, than what they could add to them*.

He had a great number of fine houses in different parts of Italy; some writers reckon up eighteen; which, excepting the family-seat at Arpinum, seem to have been all purchased or built by himself.—They were situated generally near to the sea, and placed at proper distances along the lower coast, between Rome and Pompeii, which was about four leagues beyond Naples, and, for the elegance of structure, and the delights of their situation, are called by him the eyes or the beauties of Italy†. Those in which he took the most pleasure, and usually spent some part of every year, were his Tusculum, Antium, Astura, Arpinum; his Formian, Cuman, Puteolan, and Pompeian villas;

* Qui tamen nunc quoque, ut in omni ejus ingenio, facilius quid rejici, quam quid adjici possit, invenient. Ib. vid. etiam Macrob. Saturn. 2. 1.

† Quodque temporis in prædiolis nostris, & belle ædificatis, & satis amœnis consumi potuit, in peregrinatione consumimus—[Ad Att. 16. 3] cur ocellos Italiæ, villulas meas non video? Ib. 6.

all of them large enough for the reception not only of his own family, but of his friends and numerous guests; many of whom, of the first quality, used to pass several days with him, in their excursions from Rome. But, besides these, that may properly be reckoned seats, with large plantations and gardens around them, he had several little inns, as he calls them, or baiting places, on the road, built for his accommodation, in passing from one house to another*.

His Tusculan house had been Sylla's, the dictator, and in one of its apartments had a painting of his memorable victory near Nola, in the Marsic war, in which Cicero had served under him as a volunteer†: it was about four leagues from Rome, on the top of a beautiful hill, covered with the villas of the nobility, and affording an agreeable prospect of the city, and the country around it, with plenty of water flowing through his grounds, in a large stream or canal, for which he paid a rent to the corporation of Tusculum‡. Its neighbourhood to Rome gave him the opportunity of a retreat, at any hour, from the fatigues of the bar, or the senate, to breathe a little fresh air, and divert himself with his friends or family: so that this was the place in which he took the most delight, and spent the greatest share of his leisure; and, for that reason, improved and adorned it beyond all his other houses‖.

* Ego accepi in Diversoriolo Sinuessano, tuas litteras. Ad Att. 14. 8.

† Idque etiam in villa sua Tusculana, quæ postea fuit Ciceronis, Sylla pinxit. Plin. Hist. Nat. 22. 6.

‡ Ego Tusculanis pro Aqua Crabra vectigal pendam, quia a Municipio fundum accepi.—Con. Rull. 3. 2.

‖ Quæ mihi antea signa misisti,—ea omnia in Tusculanum de-

When a greater satiety of the city, or a longer vacation in the forum, disposed him to seek a calmer scene, and more undisturbed retirement, he used to remove to Antium, or Astura. At Antium he placed his best collection of books, and, as it was not above thirty miles from Rome, he could have daily intelligence there of every thing that passed in the city. Astura was a little island, at the mouth of a river of the same name, about two leagues farther towards the south, between the promontories of Antium and Circæum, and in the view of them both,—a place peculiarly adapted to the purposes of solitude, and a severe retreat,—covered with a thick wood, cut out into shady walks, in which he used to spend the gloomy and splenetic moments of his life.

In the height of summer, the mansion house, at Arpinum, and the little island adjoining, by the advantage of its groves and cascades, afforded the best defence against the inconvenience of the heats; where, in the greatest that he had ever remembered, we find him refreshing himself, as he writes to his

portabo.—[Ad Att. 1. 4.] Nos ex omnibus laboribus & molestiis uno illo in loco conquiescimus. [Ib. 5.] Nos Tuscalano ita delectamur, ut nobismet ipsis tum denique, cum illo venimus, placeamus. Ib. 6.

The situation of this Tusculan house, which had been built, perhaps, by Sylla, confirms what Seneca has observed of the villas of all the other great captains of Rome—Marius, Pompey, Cæsar; that they were placed always on hills, or the highest ground that they could find, it being thought more military, to command the view of the country beneath them, and that houses so situated had the appearance of a camp, rather than a villa—[Senec. Epist. 51.]—But this delightful spot is now possessed by a convent of monks, called Grotta Ferrata, where they still shew the remains of Cicero's columns and fine buildings, and the ducts of water that flowed through his gardens.

brother, with the utmost pleasure, in the cool stream of his Fibrenus*.

His other villas were situated in the more public parts of Italy, where all the best company of Rome had their houses of pleasure. He had two at Formiæ, a lower and upper villa; the one near to the port of Cajeta, the other upon the mountains adjoining: he had a third on the shore of Baiæ, between the lake Avernus and Puteoli, which he calls his Puteolan: a fourth on the hills of old Cumæ, called his Cuman villa; and a fifth at Pompeii, four leagues beyond Naples, in a country famed for the purity of its air, fertility of its soil, and delicacy of its fruits. His Puteolan house was built after the plan of the academy at Athens, and called by that name, being adorned with a portico and a grove, for the same use of philosophical conferences.— Some time after his death, it fell into the hands of Antistius Vetus, who repaired and improved it; when a spring of warm water, which happened to burst out in one part of it, gave occasion to the following epigram, made by Laurea Tullius, one of Cicero's freed-men.

Quo tua Romanæ vindex clarissime linguæ
  Sylva loco melius surgere jussa viret,
Atque Academiæ celebratam nomine villam
  Nunc reparat cultu sub potiore Vetus,
Hic etiam apparent lymphæ non ante repertæ,
  Languida quæ infuso lumina rore levant.

* Ego ex magnis caloribus, non enim meminimus majores, in Arpinati, summa cum amœnitate fluminis, me refeci ludorum diebus. Ad Quint. 3. 1.

Nimirum locus ipse sui Ciceronis honori
Hoc dedit, hac fontes cum patefecit ope.
Ut quoniam totum legitur sine fine per orbem,
Sint plures, oculis quæ medeantur, aquæ*.

Where groves, once thine, now with fresh verdure bloom,
Great parent of the eloquence of Rome,
And where thy academy, favorite seat,
Now to Antistius yields its sweet retreat,
A gushing stream bursts out, of wond'rous power,
To heal the eyes, and weaken'd sight restore.
The place, which all its pride from Cicero drew,
Repays this honor to his memory due,
That, since his works throughout the world are spread,
And with such eagerness by all are read,
New springs, of healing quality, should rise,
To ease th' increase of labor to the eyes.

The furniture of his houses was suitable to the elegance of his taste and the magnificence of his buildings; his galleries were adorned with statues and paintings of the best Grecian masters, and his

* Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 31. 2.
This villa was afterwards an imperial palace, possessed by the emperor Hadrian, who died and was buried in it, where he is supposed to have breathed out that last and celebrated adieu to his little pallid, frightened, fluttering soul [1]; which would have left him with less regret, if, from Cicero's habitation on earth, it had known the way to those regions above, where Cicero probably still lives, in the fruition of endless happiness [2].

[1] Animula vagula, blandula,
Hospes, Comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.
Ælii Spartian. Vid. Hadr. 25.

[2] Ubi nunc agat anima Ciceronis, fortasse non est humani judicii pronuntiare: me certe non admodum adversum habituri sint in ferendis calculis, qui sperant illum apud Superos quietam vitam agere—Erasm. Procem. in Tusc. Quæst. ad Joh. Ulatten.

vessels and moveables were of the best work and choicest materials. There was a cedar table of his remaining in Pliny's time, said to be the first which was ever seen in Rome, and to have cost him eighty pounds*. He thought it the part of an eminent citizen to preserve an uniformity of character in every article of his conduct, and to illustrate his dignity by the splendor of his life. This was the reason of the great variety of his houses, and of their situation in the most conspicuous parts of Italy, along the course of the Appian road; that they might occur at every stage to the observation of travellers, and lie commodious for the reception and entertainment of his friends.

The reader, perhaps, when he reflects on what the old writers have said, of the mediocrity of his paternal estate, will be at a loss to conceive whence all his revenues flowed, that enabled him to sustain the vast expence of building and maintaining such a number of noble houses: but the solution will be easy, when we recollect the great opportunities that he had of improving his original fortunes. The two principal funds of wealth to the leading men of Rome, were,—first, the public magistracies and provincial commands; secondly, the presents of kings, princes, and foreign states, whom they had obliged by their services and protection: and though no man was more moderate in the use of these advantages than Cicero, yet, to one of his prudence, œconomy, and contempt of vicious plea-

* Extat hodie M. Ciceronis, in illa paupertate, et quod magis mirum est, illo ævo empta H. S. X. [Plin. Hist. Nat. 13. 15.] nullius ante Ciceronianam vetustior memoria est. ib. 16.

sures, these were abundantly sufficient to answer all his expences*: for, in his province of Cilicia, after all the memorable instances of his generosity, by which he saved to the public a full million sterling, which all other governors had applied to their private use, yet, at the expiration of his year, he left, in the hands of the publicans, in Asia, near twenty thousand pounds, reserved from the strict dues of his government, and remitted to him afterwards at Rome†. But there was another way of acquiring money, esteemed the most reputable of any, which brought large and frequent supplies to him, the legacies of deceased friends. It was the peculiar custom of Rome, for the clients and dependents of families, to bequeath, at their death, to their patrons, some considerable part of their estates, as the most effectual testimony of their respect and gratitude; and the more a man received in this way, the more it redounded to his credit.—Thus Cicero mentions it, to the honor of Lucullus, that, while he governed Asia, as proconsul, many great estates were left to him, by will‡: and Nepos tells us, in praise of Atticus, that he succeeded to many inheritances of the same kind, bequeathed to him on no other account than of his friendly and amiable temper§. Cicero had his full share of

* Parva sunt, quæ desunt nostris quidem moribus, & ea sunt ad explicandum expeditissima, modo valeamus. Ad Quint. 2. 15.

† Ego in cistophoro in Asia habeo ad H. S. bis & vicies, hujus pecuniæ permutatione fidem nostram facile tuebere. Ad Att. xi. 1.

‡ Maximas audio tibi, L. Luculle, pro tua eximia liberalitate, maximisque beneficiis in tuos, venisse hereditates. Pro Flacc. 34.

§ Multas enim hereditates nulla alia re, quam bonitate est consecutus. Vit. Att. 21.

these testamentary donations, as we see from the many instances of them mentioned in his letters* ; and when he was falsely reproached by Antony, with being neglected on these occasions, he declared, in his reply, that he had gained, from this single article, about two hundred thousand pounds, by the free and voluntary gifts of dying friends ;—not the forged wills of persons unknown to him ; with which he charged Antony†.

His moral character was never blemished by the stain of any habitual vice, but was a shining pattern of virtue to an age, of all others, the most licentious and profligate‡. His mind was superior to all the sordid passions which engross little souls ; —avarice, envy, malice, lust. If we sift his familiar letters, we cannot discover in them the least hint of any thing base, immodest, spiteful, or perfidious ; but an uniform principle of benevolence, justice, love of his friends and country, flowing through the whole, and inspiring all his thoughts and actions. Though no man ever felt the effects of other people's envy more severely than he, yet no man was ever more free from it : this is allowed to him by all the old writers, and is evident, indeed, from his works ; where we find him perpetually praising and recommending whatever was laudable, even in a rival or an adversary ; celebrating merit, wherever it was found, whether in the ancients, or

* Ad Att. 2. 20. xi. 2. Pro Mil. 18.

† Hereditates mihi negasti venire—ego enim amplius H. S. ducenties acceptum hereditatibus retuli——me nemo, nisi amicus, fecit heredem——te is, quem tu vidisti nunquam. Philip. 2. 16.

‡ Cum vita fuerit integra, nec integra solum sed etiam casta. Erasm. Epist. ad Jo. Ulatten.

his contemporaries, whether in Greeks or Romans, and verifying a maxim, which he had declared, in a speech to the senate, that no man could be envious of another's virtue, who was conscious of his own*.

His sprightly wit would naturally have recommended him to the favor of the ladies, whose company he used to frequent when young, and with many of whom, of the first quality, he was oft engaged, in his riper years, to confer about the interests of their husbands, brothers, or relations, who were absent from Rome: yet we meet with no trace of any criminal gallantry or intrigue with any of them. In a letter to Pætus, towards the end of his life, he gives a jocose account of his supping with their friend Volumnius, an Epicurean wit, of the first class, when the famed courtesan, Cytheris, who had been Volumnius's slave, and was then his mistress, made one of the company at table; where, after several jokes on that incident, he says, that he never suspected that she would have been of the party; and though he was always a lover of cheerful entertainments, yet nothing of that sort had ever pleased him when young, much less now, when he was old†. There was one lady, however, called Cærellia, with whom he kept up a particular familiarity and correspondence of letters; on which Dio, as it has been already hinted, absurdly grounds some little scandal, though he owns her to have been seventy years old. She is fre-

* Declarasti verum esse id, quod ego semper sensi, neminem alterius, qui suæ confideret, virtuti invidere. Philip. x. 1. vid. Plut.

† Me vero nihil istorum ne juvenem quidem movit unquam, ne nunc senem. Ep. Fam. 9. 26.

quently mentioned in Cicero's letters, as a lover of books and philosophy, and, on that account, as fond of his company and writings; but while, out of complaisance to her sex, and a regard to her uncommon talents, he treated her always with respect; yet, by the hints which he drops of her to Atticus, it appears that she had no share of his affections, or any real authority with him*.

His failings were as few as were ever found in any eminent genius; such as flowed from his constitution, not his will, and were chargeable rather to the condition of his humanity, than to the fault of the man. He was thought to be too sanguine in prosperity, too desponding in adversity, and apt to persuade himself, in each fortune, that it would never have an end†. This is Pollio's account of him, which seems, in general, to be true; Brutus touches the first part of it, in one of his letters to him, and when things were going prosperously against Antony, puts him gently in mind, that he seemed to trust too much to his hopes‡: and he himself allows the second, and says, that if any one was timorous in great and dangerous events, apprehending always the worst, rather than hoping the best, he was

* Mirifice cærellia, studio videlicet philosophiæ flagrans, describit a tuis: istos ipsos de finibus habet—[Ad Att. 13. 21.] Cærelliæ facile satisfeci; nec valde laborare visa est: & si illa ego certe non laborarem—Ib. 15. 1. it. 12. 51. 14. 19. Fam. 13. 72. Quintil. 6. 3. Dio. 303.

† Utinam moderatius secundas res, & fortius adversas ferre potuisset! namque utræque cum venerant ei, mutari eas non posse rebatur. Asin. Poll. apud Sen. Suasor. 6.

‡ Qua in re, Cicero, vir optime ac fortissime, mihique merito & meo nomine & Reipub. Carissime, nimis credere videris spei tuæ —Brut. ad Cic. 4.

the man; and, if that was a fault, confesses himself not to be free from it*: yet, in explaining afterwards the nature of this timidity, it was such, he tells us, as shewed itself, rather, in foreseeing dangers, than in encountering them: an explication which the latter part of his life fully confirmed, and above all his death, which no man could sustain with greater courage and resolution†.

But the most conspicuous and glaring passion of his soul was, the love of glory and thirst of praise: a passion, that he not only avowed, but freely indulged; and sometimes, as he himself confesses, to a degree even of vanity‡. This often gave his enemies a plausible handle of ridiculing his pride and arrogance§; while the forwardness that he shewed to celebrate his own merits, in all his public speeches, seemed to justify their censures: and, since this is generally considered as the grand foible of his life, and has been handed down, implicitly, from age to age, without ever being fairly examined, or rightly understood, it will be proper to lay open the source from which the passion itself flowed, and explain

* Nam si quisquam est timidus in magnis periculosisque rebus, semperque magis adversos rerum exitus metuens, quam sperans secundos, is ego sum: & si hoc vitium est, eo me non carere confiteor. Ep. Fam. 6. 14.

† Parum fortis videbatur quibusdam: quibus optime respondit ipse, non se timidum in suscipiendis, sed in providendis periculis: quod probavit morte quoque ipsa, quam præstantissimo suscepit animo. Quintil. l. 12. 1.

‡ Nunc quoniam laudis avidissimi semper fuimus. [Ad Att. 1. 15.] Quin etiam quod est subinane in nobis, & non ἀφιλόδοξον, bellum est enim sua vitia nosse. [Ib. 2. 17.] Sum etiam avidior etiam, quam satis est, gloriæ. Ep. Fam. 9. 14.

§ Et quoniam hoc reprehendis, quod solere me dicas de me ipso gloriosius prædicare—Pro Dom. 35.

the nature of that glory, of which he professes himself so fond.

True glory, then, according to his own definition of it, is a wide and illustrious fame of many and great benefits conferred upon our friends, our country, or the whole race of mankind*: it is not, he says, the empty blast of popular favor, or the applause of a giddy multitude, which all wise men had ever despised, and none more than himself, but the consenting praise of all honest men, and the incorrupt testimony of those who can judge of excellent merit; which resounds always to virtue, as the echo to the voice; and since it is the general companion of good actions, ought not to be rejected by good men. That those who aspired to this glory, were not to expect ease, or pleasure, or tranquillity of life for their pains; but must give up their own peace, to secure the peace of others; must expose themselves to storms and dangers for the public good; sustain many battles with the audacious and the wicked, and some even with the powerful: in short, must behave themselves so, as to give their citizens cause to rejoice that they had ever been born†. This is the notion that he inculcates every where of true glory: which is surely

* Si quidem gloria est illustris ac pervagata multorum & magnorum vel in suos, vel in patriam, vel in omne genus hominum fama meritorum.—Pro Marcel. 8.

† Si quisquam fuit unquam remotus & natura, & magis etiam, ut mihi quidem sentire videor, ratione atque doctrina, ab inani laude & sermonibus vulgi, ego profecto is sum.——Ep Fam. 15. 4.

Est enim gloria—consentiens laus bonorum; incorrupta vox bene judicantium de excellente virtute: ea virtuti resonat tanquam imago: quæ quia recte factorum plerumque comes est, non est bonis viris repudianda. Tusc. quæst. 3. 2.

Qui autem bonam famam bonorum, quæ sola vera gloria nomi-

one of the noblest principles that can inspire a human breast; implanted by God in our nature, to dignify and exalt it; and always found the strongest in the best and most elevated minds; and to which we owe every thing great and laudable that history has to offer to us, through all the ages of the heathen world. "There is not an instance," says Cicero, "of a man's exerting himself ever with "praise and virtue in the dangers of his country, "who was not drawn to it by the hopes of glory, "and a regard to posterity*." "Give me a boy," says Quintilian, "whom praise excites, whom "glory warms:" for such a scholar was sure to answer all his hopes, and do credit to his discipline†. "Whether posterity will have any respect "for me," says Pliny, "I know not; but am sure "that I have deserved some from it: I will not "say by my wit, for that would be arrogant; but "by the zeal, by the pains, by the reverence, "which I have always paid to it‡.

nari potest, expetunt, aliis otium quærere debent & voluptates, non sibi. Sudandum est his pro communibus commodis, adeundæ inimicitiæ, subeundæ sæpe pro Repub. tempestates. Cum multis audacibus, improbis, nonnunquam etiam potentibus, dimicandum. Pro Sext. 66.

Carum esse civem, bene de Repub. mereri, laudari, coli, diligi, gloriosum est—quare ita guberna Rempub. ut natum esse te cives tui gaudeant: sine quo nec beatus, nec clarus quisquam esse potest. Philip. 1. 14.

* Neque quisquam nostrum in Reipub. periculis, cum laude ac virtute versatur, quin spe posteritatis, fructuque ducatur. Pro C. Rabir. x.

† Mihi detur ille puer, quem laus excitet, quem gloria juvet. Hic erit alendus ambitu—in hoc desidiam nunquam verebor. Quintil. 1. 3.

‡ —Posteris an aliqua cura nostri, nescio. Nos certe meremur, ut sit aliqua: non dico, ingenio; id enim superbum; sed studio, sed labore, sed reverentia posterum. Plin. Ep.

It will not seem strange to observe the wisest of the ancients pushing this principle to so great a length, and considering glory as the amplest reward of a well-spent life*; when we reflect, that the greatest part of them had no notion of any other reward or futurity; and even those, who believed a state of happiness to the good, yet entertained it with so much diffidence, that they indulged it rather as a wish than a well-grounded hope; and were glad, therefore, to lay hold on that, which seemed to be within their reach, a futurity of their own creating; an immortality of fame and glory from the applause of posterity. This, by a pleasing fiction, they looked upon as a propagation of life, and an eternity of existence; and had no small comfort in imagining, that though the sense of it should not reach to themselves, it would extend, at least, to others; and that they should be doing good still when dead, by leaving the example of their virtues to the imitation of mankind. Thus Cicero, as he often declares, never looked upon that to be his life, which was confined to this narrow circle on earth, but considered his acts as seeds sown in the immense field of the universe, to raise up the fruit of glory and immortality to him through a succession of infinite ages: nor has he been frustrated of his hope, or disappointed of his end; but as long as the name of Rome subsists, or as long as learning, virtue, and liberty preserve any credit in the world, he will be great and glorious in the memory of all posterity.

* Sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, si esset habenda ratio præmiorum, amplissimum esse præmium gloriam. Esse hanc unam quæ brevitatem vitæ posteritatis memoria consolaretur.— Pro Mil. 35.

As to the other part of the charge, or the proof of his vanity, drawn from his boasting so frequently of himself in his speeches both to the senate and the people, though it may appear to a common reader to be abundantly confirmed by his writings; yet, if we attend to the circumstances of the times, and the part which he acted in them, we shall find it not only excusable, but, in some degree, even necessary. The fate of Rome was now brought to a crisis; and the contending parties were making their last efforts, either to oppress or preserve it: Cicero was the head of those who stood up for its liberty; which entirely depended on the influence of his counsels: he had many years, therefore, been the common mark of the rage and malice of all, who were aiming at illegal powers, or a tyranny in the state; and while these were generally supported by the military power of the empire, he had no other arms or means of defeating them, but his authority with the senate and people, grounded on the experience of his services, and the persuasion of his integrity: so that, to obviate the perpetual calumnies of the factious, he was obliged to inculcate the merit and good effects of his counsels, in order to confirm people in their union and adherence to them, against the intrigues of those who were employing all arts to subvert them. "The frequent commemoration of his acts," says Quintilian, "was not made so much for glory, "as for defence; to repel calumny, and vindi"cate his measures when they were attacked*:"

* Vigesimus annus est, cum omnes scelerati me unum petunt. Philip. 12. x. 6. 6.

and this is what Cicero himself declared in all his speeches; that no man ever heard him speak of himself, but when he was forced to it: that when he was urged with fictitious crimes, it was his custom to answer them with his real services: and if ever he said any thing glorious of himself, it was not through a fondness of praise, but to repel an accusation*: that no man, who had been conversant in great affairs, and treated with particular envy, could refute the contumely of an enemy, without touching upon his own praises; and, after all his labors, for the common safety, if a just indignation had drawn from him at any time, what might seem to be vain-glorious, it might reasonably be forgiven to him†: that when others were silent about him, if he could not then forbear to speak of himself, that, indeed, would be shameful; but when he was injured, accused, exposed, to popular odium, he must certainly be allowed to assert his liberty, if they would not suffer him to retain his dignity‡. This then was the true state of the

. At plerumque illud quoque non sine aliqua ratione fecit.—Ut illorum, quæ egerat in Consulatu frequens commemoratio, possit videri non gloriæ magis quam defensioni data—plerumque contra inimicos atque obtrectatores plus vendicat sibi; erant enim tuenda, cum objicerentur. Quintil. xi. 1.

* Quis unquam audivit, cum ego de me nisi coactus ac necessario dicerem?—dicendum igitur est id, quod non dicerem nisi coactus: nihil enim unquam de me dixi sublatius asciscendæ laudis causa potius, quam criminis depellendi—pro Dom. 35, 36.

† Potest quisquam vir in rebus magnis cum invidia versatus, satis graviter contra inimici contumeliam, sine sua laude respondere?—

Quanquam si me tantis laboribus pro communi salute perfunctum efferret aliquando ad gloriam in refutandis maledictis improborum hominum animi quidam dolor, quis non ignosceret?—de Harusp. resp. 8.

‡ Si, cum cæteri de nobis silent, non etiam nosmet ipsi tace-

case, as it is evident from the facts of his history: he had an ardent love of glory, and an eager thirst of praise: was pleased, when living, to hear his acts applauded; yet more still with imagining, that they would ever be celebrated when he was dead: a passion, which, for the reasons already hinted, had always the greatest force on the greatest souls: but it must needs raise our contempt and indignation, to see every conceited pedant, and trifling declaimer, who know little of Cicero's real character, and less still of their own, presuming to call him the vainest of mortals.

But there is no point of light, in which we can view him with more advantage or satisfaction to ourselves, than in the contemplation of his learning, and the surprising extent of his knowledge. This shines so conspicuous in all the monuments, which remain of him, that it even lessens the dignity of his general character; while the idea of the scholar absorbs that of the senator; and, by considering him as the greatest writer, we are apt to forget, that he was the greatest magistrate also of Rome. We learn our Latin from him at school; our style and sentiments at the college: here the generality take their leave of him; and seldom think of him more, but as of an orator, a moralist, or philosopher of antiquity. But it is with characters as with pictures; we cannot judge well of a single part, without surveying the whole; since the perfection of each depends on its proportion and

mus, grave. Sed si lædimur, si accusamur, si in invidiam vocamur, profecto concedetis, ut nobis libertatem retinere liceat, si minus liceat dignitatem. Pro Syll. 29.

relation to the rest; while, in viewing them all together, they mutually reflect an additional grace upon each other. His learning, considered separately, will appear admirable; yet much more so, when it is found in the possession of the first statesman of a mighty empire: his abilities as a statesman are glorious; yet surprise us still more, when they are observed in the ablest scholar and philosopher of his age: but an union of both these characters exhibits that sublime specimen of perfection, to which the best parts with the best culture can exalt human nature*.

No man, whose life had been wholly spent in study, ever left more numerous or more valuable fruits of his learning, in every branch of science, and the politer arts; in oratory, poetry, philosophy, law, history, criticism, politics, ethics; in each of which he equalled the greatest masters of his time; in some of them, excelled all men of all times†. His remaining works, as voluminous as they appear, are but a small part of what he really published; and though many of these are come down to us maimed by time, and the barbarity of the intermediate ages, yet they are justly esteemed the most precious remains of all antiquity; and, like the

* Cum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quædam, conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud nescio quid præclarum ac singulare solere existere. Pro Arch. 7.

† M. Cicero in libro, qui inscriptus est de Jure civili in artem redigendo, verba hæc posuit—[Aul. Gell. 1. 22.] M. Tullius non modo inter agendum numquam est destitutus scientia juris, sed etiam componere aliqua de eo cœperat. [Quintil. 12. 3.] At M. Tullium, non illum habemus Euphranorem, circa plurium artium species præstantem, sed in omnibus, quæ in quoque laudantur, eminentissimum. Ib. c. x.

Sibylline books, if more of them had perished, would have been equal still to any price.

His industry was incredible, beyond the example, or even conception of our days: this was the secret, by which he performed such wonders, and reconciled perpetual study with perpetual affairs. He suffered no part of his leisure to be idle, or the least interval of it to be lost; but what other people gave to the public shews, to pleasures, to feasts, nay, even to sleep, and the ordinary refreshments of nature, he generally gave to his books, and the enlargement of his knowledge*. On days of business, when he had any thing particular to compose, he had no other time for meditating, but when he was taking a few turns in his walks, where he used to dictate his thoughts to his scribes, who attended him†. We find many of his letters dated before day-light; some from the senate; others from his meals, and the crowd of his morning levee‡.

* Quantum cæteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, & ipsam requiem animi & corporis conceditur temporum: quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviis: quantum denique aleæ, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet ad hæc studia recolenda sumsero—Pro Arch. 6.

Cui fuerit ne otium quidem unquam otiosum. Nam quas tu commemoras legere te solere orationes, cum otiosus sis, has ego scripsi ludis & feriis, ne omnino unquam essem otiosus. Pro Planc. 27.

† Ita quicquid conficio aut cogito, in ambulationis fere tempus confero. [Ad Quint. 3. 3.] Nam cum vacui temporis nihil haberem, & cum recreandæ voculæ causa mihi necesse esset ambulare, hæc dictavi ambulans. Ad Att. 2. 23.

‡ Cum hæc scribebam ante lucem. [Ad Quint. 3. 2. 7.] Ante lucem cum scriberem contra Epicureos, de eodem oleo & opera exaravi nescio quid ad te, & ante lucem dedi. Deinde cum, somno repetito, simul cum sole experrectus essem.—Ad Att. 13. 38.

No compositions afford more pleasure than the epistles of great men: they touch the heart of the reader, by laying open that of the writer. The letters of eminent wits, eminent scholars, eminent statesmen, are all esteemed in their several kinds; but there never was a collection that excelled so much, in every kind, as Cicero's; for the purity of style, the importance of the matter, or the dignity of the persons concerned in them. We have about a thousand still remaining, all written after he was forty years old; which are but a small part, not only of what he wrote, but of what were actually published, after his death, by his servant Tiro. For we see many volumes of them quoted by the ancients, which are utterly lost; as the first book of his letters to Licinius Calvus; the first also to Q. Axius; a second book to his son; a second also to Corn. Nepos; a third book to J. Cæsar; a third to Octavius; and a third also to Pansa; an eighth book to M. Brutus; and a ninth to A. Hirtius. Of all which, excepting a few to J. Cæsar and Brutus, we have nothing more left, than some scattered phrases and sentences, gathered from the citations of the old critics and grammarians*. What makes these letters still more estimable is, that he had never designed them for the public, nor kept any copies of them; for the year before his death, when Atticus was making some enquiry about them, he sent him

Hæc ad te scripsi apposita secunda mensa. [Ib. 14. 6. 21. 15. 13.] Hoc paullulum exaravi ipsa in turba matutinæ salutationis. Ad Brut. l. 2. 4.

* See the fragments of his letters in the editions of his works.

word, that he had made no collection; and that Tiro had preserved only about seventy*. Here then we may expect to see the genuine man, without disguise or affectation; especially in his letters to Atticus; to whom he talked with the same frankness as to himself; opened the rise and progress of each thought; and never entered into any affair without his particular advice: so that these may be considered as the memoirs of his times; containing the most authentic materials for the history of that age, and laying open the grounds and motives of all the great events that happened in it†: and it is the want of attention to them, that makes the generality of writers, on these times, so superficial as well as erroneous; while they chuse to transcribe the dry and imperfect relations of the later Greek historians, rather than take the pains, to extract the original account of facts from one, who was a principal actor in them.

In his familiar letters, he affected no particular elegance or choice of words, but took the first that occurred from common use and the language of conversation‡. Whenever he was disposed to joke, his wit was easy and natural; flowing always from the subject, and throwing out what came uppermost; nor disdaining even a pun, when it served to

* Mearum Epistolarum nulla est συναγωγή. Sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta. Ad Att. 16. 5.

† Quæ qui legat non multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum; sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, ac mutationibus Reipub. perscripta sunt, ut nihil in his non appareat. Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 16.

‡ Epistolas vero quotidianis verbis texere solemus. Ep. Fam. 9. 21.

make his friends laugh*. In letters of compliment, some of which were addressed to the greatest men who ever lived, his inclination to please is expressed in a manner agreeable to nature and reason, with the utmost delicacy both of sentiment and diction, yet without any of those pompous titles and lofty epithets which modern custom has introduced into our commerce with the great, and falsely stamped with the name of politeness, though they are the real offspring of barbarism, and the effect of our degeneracy, both in taste and manners. In his political letters, all his maxims are drawn from an intimate knowledge of men and things; he always touches the point on which the affair turns, foresees the danger, and foretells the mischief, which never failed to follow upon the neglect of his counsels, of which there were so many instances, that, as an eminent writer, of his own time, observed of him, his prudence seemed to be a kind of divination, which foretold every thing that afterwards happened, with the veracity of a prophet†. But none of his letters do him more credit than those of the recommendatory kind: the others shew his wit and his parts, these his benevolence and his probity: he solicits the interest of his friends with all the warmth and force of words of

* Quicquid in buccam venerit. Ad Att. 7. x. 14. 7. In reproaching Antony for publishing one of his letters to him, "How "many jests," says he, "are often found in private letters, which, "if made public, might be thought foolish and impertinent?"—Philip. 2. 4.

† Ut facile existimari possit prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem. Non enim Cicero ea solum, quæ vivo se acciderunt, futura prædixit, sed etiam, quæ nunc usu veniunt, cecinit, ut Vates. Corn. Nep. 16.

which he was master, and alledges, generally, some personal reason for his peculiar zeal in the cause, and that his own honor was concerned in the success of it*.

But his letters are not more valuable on any account, than for their being the only monuments of that sort which remain to us from free Rome.—They breathe the last words of expiring liberty, a great part of them having been written in the very crisis of its ruin, to rouse up all the virtue that was left in the honest and the brave, to the defence of their country. The advantage which they derive from this circumstance will easily be observed, by

* An objection may possibly be made to my character of these letters, from a certain passage in one of them, addressed to a proconsul of Afric, wherein he intimates, that there was a private mark agreed upon between them, which, when affixed to his letters, would signify what real stress he himself laid upon them, and what degree of influence he desired them to have with his friend. [Ep. Fam. 13. 6.] But that seems to relate only to the particular case of one man, who, having great affairs in Afric, was likely to be particularly troublesome both to Cicero and the proconsul; whose general concerns, however, he recommends, in that letter, with the utmost warmth and affection. But, if he had used the same method with all the other proconsuls and foreign commanders, it seems not only reasonable, but necessary, that a man of his character and authority, whose favor was perpetually solicited by persons of all ranks, should make some distinction between his real friends, whom he recommended for their own sake, and those whose recommendations were extorted from him by the importunity of others; which was frequently the case, as he himself declares in these very letters. "Your regard for me," says he, "is "so publicly known, that I am importuned by many for recom-"mendations to you. But though I give them sometimes to men "of no consequence, yet, for the most part, it is to my real friends. "Again, our friendship, and your affection to me, is so illustrious, "that I am under a necessity of recommending many people to "you: but though it is my duty to wish well to all whom I recom-"mend, yet I do not live upon the same foot of friendship with "them all," &c. Ep. Fam. 13. 70. 71.

comparing them with the epistles of the best and greatest who flourished afterwards in imperial Rome. Pliny's letters are justly admired by men of taste: they shew the scholar, the wit, the fine gentleman: yet we cannot but observe a poverty and barrenness through the whole, that betrays the awe of a master. All his stories and reflections terminate in private life; there is nothing important in politics; no great affairs explained; no account of the motives of public councils: he had borne all the same offices with Cicero, whom, in all points, he affected to emulate*; yet his honors were in effect but nominal; conferred by a superior power, and administered by a superior will; and, with the old titles of consul and proconsul, we want still the statesman, the politician, and the magistrate. In his provincial command, where Cicero governed all things with a supreme authority, and had kings attendant on his orders, Pliny durst not venture to repair a bath, or punish a fugitive slave, or incorporate a company of masons, till he had first consulted and obtained the leave of Trajan†.

His historical works are all lost: the Commentaries of his Consulship, in Greek; the history of his own affairs, to his return from exile, in Latin verse; and his Anecdotes; as well as the pieces that he

* Lætaris, quod honoribus ejus insistam, quem æmulari in studiis cupio. Plin. Ep. 4. 8.

† Prusenses, Domine, balneum habent & sordidum & vetus; id itaque indulgentia tua restituere desiderant. Ep. l. x. 34.

Quorum ego supplicium distuli, ut te conditorem disciplinæ militaris, firmatoremque, consulerem de modo pœnæ. Ib. 38.

Tu, Domine, despice an instituendum putes collegium Fabrorum, duntaxat hominum CL. Ib. 42.

published on natural history; of which Pliny quotes one upon the wonders of nature, and another on perfumes*. He was meditating, likewise, a general history of Rome, to which he was frequently urged by his friends, as the only man capable of adding that glory also to his country, of excelling the Greeks in a species of writing, which, of all others, was at that time the least cultivated by the Romans†. But he never found leisure to execute so great a task; yet has sketched out a plan of it, which, short as it is, seems to be the best that can be formed for the design of a perfect history.

He declares it to be the first and fundamental law of history; that it should neither dare to say any thing that was false, or fear to say any thing that was true; nor give any just suspicion either of favor or disaffection: that, in the relation of things, the writer should observe the order of time, and add also the description of places: that, in all great and memorable transactions, he should first explain the counsels, then the acts, lastly the events: that, in the counsels, he should interpose his own judgment on the merit of them; in the acts, should relate not only what was done, but how it was done: in the events, should shew what share chance or rashness

* Cicero in Admirandis posuit, &c. Plin. Hist. Nat. 31. 2. Quod Admirandis suis inseruit M. Cicero. Ib. c. 4. In monumentis M. Ciceronis invenitur; Unguenta gratiora esse, quæ terram, quam quæ crocum sapiant. Hist. Nat. 13. 3. 17. 5.

† Postulatur a te jamdiu, vel flagitatur potius historia: sic enim putant, te illam tractante, effici posse, ut in hoc etiam genere Græciæ nihil cedamus—abest enim historia litteris nostris—de Leg. 1. 2. 3.

or prudence had in them: that, in regard to persons, he should describe not only their particular actions, but the lives and characters of all those who bear an eminent part in the story: that he should illustrate the whole in a clear, easy, natural style; flowing with a perpetual smoothness and equability; free from the affectation of points and sentences, or the roughness of judicial pleadings*.

We have no remains, likewise, of his poetry, except some fragments occasionally interspersed through his other writings; yet these, as I have before observed, are sufficient to convince us, that his poetical genius, if it had been cultivated with the same care, would not have been inferior to his oratorial. The two arts are so nearly allied, that an excellency in the one seems to imply a capacity for the other, the same qualities being essential to them both; a sprightly fancy, fertile invention, flowing and numerous diction. It was in Cicero's time, that the old rusticity of the Latin Muse first began to be polished by the ornaments of dress, and the harmony of numbers; but the height of perfection to which it was carried, after his death, by the succeeding generation, as it left no room for a mediocrity it poetry, so it quite eclipsed the fame of Cicero. For the world always judges of things by comparison, and because he was not so great a poet as Virgil and Horace, he was decried as none at all; especially in the courts of Antony and Augustus; where it was a compliment to the sovereign, and a fashion consequently among their

* De Orat. 2. 15.

flatterers*, to make his character ridiculous, where-ever it lay open to them: hence flowed that perpetual raillery, which subsists to this day, on his famous verses;

> Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ.
> O fortunatam natam me consule Romam—

and two bad lines picked out by the malice of enemies, and transmitted to posterity, as a specimen of the rest, have served to damn many thousands of good ones. For Plutarch reckons him among the most eminent of the Roman poets; and Pliny the younger was proud of emulating him in his poetic character†; and Quintilian seems to charge the cavils of his censurers to a principle of malignity‡. But his own verses carry the surest proof of their merit; being written in the best manner of that age in which he lived, and in the style of Lucretius, whose poem he is said to have revised and corrected for its publication, after Lucretius's death§. This, however, is certain, that he was the constant friend and generous patron of all the celebrated poets of his time||; of Accius, Archias,

* Postea vero quam triumvirali proscriptione consumptus est, passim qui oderant, qui invidebant, qui æmulabantur, adulatores etiam præsentis potentiæ, non responsurum invaserunt. Quintil. 12. x.

† Sed ego verear, ne me non satis deceat, quod decuit M. Tullium—Ep 1. 5. 3.

‡ In carminibus utinam pepercisset, quæ non desierunt carpere maligni. Quintil. xi. 1.

§ Euseb. Chronic.

|| Adjicis M. Tullium mira benignitate poetarum ingenia fovisse. Plin. Ep. 3. 15. Ut ex familiari ejus L. Accio poeta audire sum solitus. [Brut. 197.] Lucretii poemata, ut scribis, lita sunt multis luminibus ingenii, multæ tamen artis. Ad Quint. 2. xi. Vid. Ad Att. 1. 9, 16.

Chilius, Lucretius, Catullus; who pays his thanks to him in the following lines, for some favor that he had received from him.

Tully, most eloquent by far
Of all who have been, or who are,
Or who in ages still to come
Shall rise of all the sons of Rome,
To thee Catullus grateful sends
His warmest thanks, and recommends
His humble muse, as much below
All other poets he, as thou
All other patrons dost excel,
In power of words and speaking well*.

But poetry was the amusement only, and relief of his other studies: eloquence was his distinguishing talent, his sovereign attribute: to this he devoted all the faculties of his soul, and attained to a degree of perfection in it, that no mortal ever surpassed: so that, as a polite historian observes, Rome had but few orators before him, whom it could praise; none whom it could admire†. Demosthenes was the pattern by which he formed himself; whom he emulated with such success, as to merit, what St. Jerome calls that beautiful eloge; Demosthenes

* Disertissime Romuli nepotum,
Quot sunt, quotque fuere, Marce Tulli,
Quotque post aliis erunt in annis?
Gratias tibi maximas Catullus
Agit, pessimus omnium poeta,
Tanto pessimus omnium poeta
Quanto tu optimus omnium patronus.
Catull. 47.

† At oratio—ita universa sub principe operis sui erupit Tullio; ut delectari ante eum paucissimis, mirari vero neminem possis. Vell. Pat. 1. 17.

has snatched from thee the glory of being the first; thou from Demosthenes that of being the only orator*. The genius, the capacity, the style and manner of them both were much the same; their eloquence of that great, sublime, and comprehensive kind, which dignified every subject, and gave it all the force and beauty of which it was capable: it was that roundness of speaking, as the ancients call it, where there was nothing either redundant or deficient; nothing either to be added or retrenched: their perfections were, in all points, so transcendent, and yet so similar, that the critics are not agreed on which side to give the preference: Quintilian, indeed, the most judicious of them, has given it, on the whole, to Cicero: but if, as others have thought, Cicero had not all the nerves, the energy, or, as he himself calls it, the thunder of Demosthenes, he excelled him in the copiousness and elegance of his diction; the variety of his sentiments; and, above all, in the vivacity of his wit, and smartness of his raillery: Demosthenes had nothing jocose or facetious in him; yet, by attempting sometimes to jest, shewed that the thing itself did not displease, but did not belong to him: for, as Longinus says, whenever he affected to be pleasant, he made himself ridiculous; and if he happened to raise a laugh, it was chiefly upon himself. Whereas Cicero, from a perpetual fund of wit and ridicule, had the power always to please, when he

* Demosthenem igitur imitemur. O Dii boni! quid quasi nos aliud agimus, aut quid aliud optamus?—Brut. 417.

M. Tullius, in quem pulcherrimum illud elogium est; Demosthenes tibi præripuit, ne esses primus orator; tu illi, ne solus. Ad Nepotian. de vita Clericor. Tom. 4. Edit. Bened.—

found himself unable to convince; and could put his judges into good humor, when he had cause to be afraid of their severity; so that, by the opportunity of a well-timed joke, he is said to have preserved many of his clients from manifest ruin*.

Yet, in all this height and fame of his eloquence, there was another set of orators at the same time in Rome; men of parts and learning, and of the first quality; who, while they acknowleged the superiority of his genius, yet censured his diction, as not truly Attic or classical; some calling it loose and languid; others tumid and exuberant†. These men affected a minute and fastidious correctness; pointed sentences, short and concise periods, without a syllable to spare in them; as if the perfection of oratory consisted in a frugality of words, and in crouding our sentiments into the narrowest compass‡. The chief patrons of this taste were, M. Brutus, Licinius Calvus, Asinius Pollio, and Sallust; whom Seneca seems to treat as the author of the obscure, abrupt, and sententious style§. Ci-

* Huic diversa virtus, quæ risum judicis movendo—plerique Demostheni facultatem hujus rei defuisse credunt, Ciceroni modum—nec videri potest noluisse Demosthenes, cujus pauca admodum dicta——ostendunt non displicuisse illi jocos, sed non contigisse—mihi vero—mira quædam videtur in Cicerone fuisse urbanitas—[Quintil. l. 6. 3 ib. x. 1. Longin. de Sublim. c. 34.] Ut pro L. Flacco, quem repetundarum reum joci oportunitate de manifestissimis criminibus exemit—&c. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 1.

† Constat nec Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus & tumens, nec satis pressus, supra modum exultans & superfluens, & parum Atticus videretur, &c. Tacit. Dialog. 18. Vid. Quintil. 12. 1.

‡ Mihi falli multum videntur, qui solos esse Atticos credunt, tenues & lucidos & significantes, sed quadam eloquentiæ frugalitate contentos, ac manum semper intra pallium continentes. Quintil. xii. c. x.

§ Sic Sallustio vigente, amputatæ sententiæ, & verba ante ex-

cero often ridicules these pretenders to Attic elegance; as judging of eloquence, not by the force of the art, but their own weakness, and resolving to decry what they could not attain, and to admire nothing but what they could imitate*: and though their way of speaking, he says, might please the ear of a critic, or a scholar, yet it was not of that sublime and sonorous kind, whose end was not only to instruct, but to move an audience: an eloquence, born for the multitude; whose merit was always shewn by its effects, of exciting admiration, and extorting shouts of applause; and on which there never was any difference of judgment between the learned and the populace†.

This was the genuine eloquence that prevailed in Rome as long as Cicero lived: his were the only speeches that were relished or admired by the city; while those Attic orators, as they called themselves, were generally despised, and frequently deserted by the audience in the midst of their harangues‡. But, after Cicero's death, and the ruin

pectatum cadentia, & obscura brevitas, fuere pro cultu. L. Sen. Epist. 114.

* Itaque nobis monendi sunt ii,—qui aut dici se desiderant Atticos, aut ipsi Attice volunt dicere, ut mirentur Demosthenem maxime—eloquentiamque ipsius viribus, non imbecillitate sua, metiantur. Nunc enim tantum quisque laudat, quantum se posse sperat imitari. Orat. 248. vid. Tusc. Quæst. 2. 1.

† Sed ad Calvum revertamur; qui—metuens ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat. Itaque ejus oratio nimia religione attenuata, doctis & attente audientibus erat illustris; a multitudine autem & a foro, cui nata eloquentia est, devorabatur. Brut. 410.

Itaque nunquam de bono Oratore & non bono doctis hominibus cum populo dissensio fuit—&c. Ib. 297.

‡ At cum isti Attici dicant, non modo a corona, quod est ipsum miserabile, sed etiam ab Advocatis relinquuntur. Ib. 417.

of the Republic, the Roman oratory sunk, of course, with its liberty, and a false species universally prevailed: when, instead of that elate, copious, and flowing eloquence, which launched out freely into every subject, there succeeded a guarded, dry, sententious kind; full of labored turns and studied points; and proper only for the occasion on which it was employed; the making panegyrics, and servile compliments to their tyrants. This change of style may be observed in all their writers from Cicero's time, to the younger Pliny; who carried it to its utmost perfection in his celebrated panegyric on the Emperor Trajan: which, as it is justly admired for the elegance of diction, the beauty of sentiments, and the delicacy of its compliments, so it is become, in a manner, the standard of fine speaking to modern times: where it is common to hear the pretenders to criticism, descanting on the tedious length and spiritless exuberance of the Ciceronian periods. But the superiority of Cicero's eloquence, as it was acknowledged by the politest age of free Rome, so it has received the most authentic confirmation, that the nature of things can admit, from the concurrent sense of nations; which, neglecting the productions of his rivals and contemporaries, have preserved to us his inestimable remains, as a specimen of the most perfect manner of speaking, to which the language of mortals can be exalted: so that, as Quintilian declared of him, even in that early age, he has acquired such fame with posterity, that Cicero is not reckoned so much the name of a man, as of eloquence itself*.

* —Apud posteros vero id consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis, sed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur. Quintil. x. 1.

But we have hitherto been considering, chiefly, the exterior part of Cicero's character, and shall now attempt to penetrate the recesses of his mind, and discover the real source and principle of his actions, from a view of that philosophy, which he professed to follow, as the general rule of his life. This, as he often declares, was drawn from the academic sect; which derived its origin from Socrates, and its name from a celebrated Gymnasium, or place of exercise in the suburbs of Athens, called the Academy; where the professors of that school used to hold their lectures and philosophical disputations*. Socrates was the first, who banished physics out of philosophy, which, till his time, had been the sole object of it; and drew it off from the obscure and intricate enquiries into nature, and the constitution of the heavenly bodies, to questions of morality; of more immediate use and importance to the happiness of man; concerning the true notions of virtue and vice, and the na-

* Illi autem, qui Platonis instituto in Academia, quod est alterum gymnasium, cœtus erant & sermones habere soliti, e loci vocabulo nomen habuerunt. Academ. 1. 4.

N. B. This celebrated place, which Serv. Sulpicius calls the noblest Gymnasium of the world, took its name from one Ecademus, an ancient hero, who possessed it in the time of the Tyndaridæ. But famous as it was, it was purchased afterwards for about one hundred pounds, and dedicated to the public, for the convenience of walks and exercises for the citizens of Athens; and was gradually improved and adorned by the rich, who had received benefit or pleasure from it, with plantations of groves, stately porticos, and commodious apartments, for the particular use of the professors or masters of the Academic school; where several of them are said to have spent their lives, and to have resided so strictly, as scarce ever to have come within the city. Ep. Fam. 4. 12. Plut. in Theseo. 15. Diog. Laert. in Plato. S. 7. Plut. de Exil. 603.

tural difference of good and ill*: and, as he found the world generally pre-possessed with false notions on those subjects, so his method was, not to assert any opinion of his own, but to refute the opinions of others, and attack the errors in vogue; as the first step towards preparing men for the reception of truth, or what came the nearest to it, probability†. While he himself, therefore, professed to know nothing, he used to sift out the several doctrines of all the pretenders to science, and then teaze them with a series of questions so contrived, as to reduce them, by the course of their answers, to an evident absurdity, and the impossibility of defending, what they had at first affirmed‡.

But Plato did not strictly adhere to the method of his master Socrates; and his followers wholly deserted it: for, instead of the Socratic modesty of affirming nothing, and examining every thing, they turned philosophy, as it were, into an art; and formed a system of opinions, which they delivered to their disciples, as the peculiar tenets of their sect§. Plato's nephew, Speusippus, who was left

* Socrates—id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis, & ab ipsa natura involutis—avocavisse philosophiam & ad vitam communem adduxisse, ut de virtutibus & vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus & malis quæreret, &c. Ib. vid. it. Tusc. Quæst. 5. 4.

† E quibus nos id potissimum consecuti sumus, quo Socratem usum arbitrabamur; ut nostram ipsi sententiam tegeremus, errore alios levaremus; & in omni disputatione, quid esset simillumum veri quæreremus. Tusc. Quest. 5. 4. it. 1. 4.

‡ Socrates enim percunctando atque interrogando elicere solebat opiniones eorum, quibuscum disserebat——De Fin. 2. 1.

§ Illam autem Socraticam dubitationem de omnibus rebus, & nulla adfirmatione adhibita consuetudinem disserendi reliquerunt. Ita facta est, quod minime Socrates probabat, ars quædam Philosophiæ, & rerum ordo & descriptio disciplinæ—Academ. 1. 4.

the heir of his school, continued his lectures, as his successors also did, in the academy, and preserved the name of Academics; whilst Aristotle, the most eminent of Plato's scholars, retired to another Gymnasium, called the Lyceum; where, from a custom, which he and his followers observed, of teaching and disputing, as they walked in the porticos of the place, they obtained the name of Peripatetics, or the walking philosophers. These two sects, though differing in name, agreed generally in things, or in all the principal points of their philosophy: they placed the chief happiness of man in virtue, with a competency of external goods; taught the existence of a God, a Providence, the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments*.

This was the state of the Academic school under five successive masters, who governed it after Plato; Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemo, Crates, Crantor; till Arcesilas, the sixth, discarded, at once, all the systems of his predecessors, and revived the Socratic way of affirming nothing, doubting of all things, and exposing the vanity of the reigning opinions†. He alledged the necessity of making this reformation, from that obscurity of things, which had reduced Socrates, and all the ancients before him, to a confession of their ignorance: he observed, as they had all likewise done, that the sen-

* Sed idem fons erat utrisque, & eadem rerum expetendarum, fugiendarumque partitio. [Academ. 1. 4, 6, 8.] Peripateticos & Academicos, nominibus differentes, re congruentes. Ib. 2. 5.

† Arcesilas primum, ex variis Platonis libris, sermonibusque Socraticis hoc maxime arripuit, nihil esse certi, quod aut sensibus aut animo percipi possit—de Orat. 3. 18.

ses were narrow; reason infirm; life short; truth immersed in the deep; opinion and custom every where predominant; and all things involved in darkness*. He taught, therefore, that there was no certain knowledge, or perception of any thing in nature; nor any infallible criterion of truth and falsehood; that nothing was so detestable as rashness; nothing so scandalous to a philosopher, as to profess, what was either false, or unknown to him; that we ought to assert nothing dogmatically; but, in all cases, to suspend our assent; and, instead of pretending to certainty, content ourselves with opinion, grounded on probability; which was all that a rational mind had to acquiesce in. This was called the New Academy, in distinction from the Platonic, or the Old; which maintained its credit down to Cicero's time, by a succession of able masters; the chief of whom was Carneades, the fourth from Arcesilas: who carried it to its utmost heighth of glory, and is greatly celebrated by antiquity for the vivacity of his wit and force of his eloquence†.

We must not, however, imagine, that these Aca-

* Non pertinacia sed earum rerum obscuritate, quæ ad confessionem ignorantiæ adduxerant Socratem, &—omnes pæne veteres; qui nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt; angustos sensus; imbecillos animos; brevia curricula vitæ; in profundo veritatem demersam; opinionibus & institutis omnia teneri; nihil veritati relinqui: deinceps omnia tenebris circumfusa esse dixerunt. Academ. 1. 13.

† Hanc Academiam novam appellant;—quæ usque ad Carneadem perducta, qui quartus ab Arcesila fuit, in eadem Arcesilæ ratione permansit.—[Academ. 1. 13.] Ut hæc in philosophia ratio contra omnia disserendi, nullamque rem aperte, judicandi, profecta a Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata a Carneade, usque ad nostram viguit ætatem. [de Nat. Deor. 1. 5.] Hinc hæc recentior Academia emanavit, in qua exstitit divina quadam celeritate ingenii, dicendique copia Carneades—De Orat. 3. 18.

demics continued doubting and fluctuating all their lives in scepticism and irresolution, without any precise opinions, or settled principle of judging and acting*: no; their rule was as certain and consistent as that of any other sect; as it is frequently explained by Cicero, in many parts of his works. "We are not of that sort," says he, "whose mind "is perpetually wandering in error, without any "particular end, or object of its pursuit: for what "would such a mind, or such a life, indeed, be "worth, which had no determinate rule or method "of thinking and acting? But the difference be-"tween us and the rest is, that, whereas they call "some things certain, and others uncertain; we "call the one probable, the other improbable. "For what reason then should not I pursue the "probable, reject the contrary, and declining the "arrogance of affirming, avoid the imputation of "rashness; which, of all things, is the farthest re-"moved from wisdom†? Again; we do not pretend "to say, that there is no such thing as truth; but "that all truths have some falshoods annexed to "them, of so near a resemblance and similitude, as "to afford no certain note of distinction, whereby "to determine our judgment and assent: whence "it follows, also, of course, that there are many "things probable; which, though not perfectly "comprehended, yet, on account of their attractive "and specious appearance, are sufficient to govern "the life of a wise man‡. In another place, there

* Neque enim Academici, cum in utramque disserunt partem, non secundum alteram vivunt. Quintil. l. 12. 1.

† De Offic. 2. 2. ‡ De Nat. Deor. 1. 5.

"is no difference," says he, "between us and those, "who pretend to know things; but that they never "doubt of the truth of what they maintain; where- "as we have many probabilities, which we readily "embrace, but dare not affirm. By this we pre- "serve our judgment free and unprejudiced, and "are under no necessity of defending what is pre- "scribed and enjoined to us: whereas, in the other "sects, men are tied down to certain doctrines, be- "fore they are capable of judging what is the best; "and, in the most infirm part of life, drawn either "by the authority of a friend, or charmed with the "first master, whom they happen to hear, they "form a judgment of things unknown to them; "and to whatever school they chance to be driven "by the tide, cleave to it as fast as the oyster to "the rock*."

* Academ. 2, 3.—N. B. This sketch of the principles of the academy, may enable us to decide that famous contest among the critics, about the reading of the following passage in Cicero's treatise on the nature of the Gods. [l. 1. 1.] De qua tam variæ sunt doctissimorum hominum, tamque discrepantes sententiæ, ut magno argumento esse debeat, causam, id est, principium philosophiæ esse, scientiam; [inscientiam]; prudenterque academicos a rebus incertis assensionem cohibuisse. The question is, whether we should read scientiam or inscientiam: the greatest part of the editions and MSS. give us the first; but Aldus Manutius and Dr. Davies prefer the second; which I take to be the true reading. For Cicero's meaning in this place is, from the dissensions of the learned, on a subject of so great importance, to illustrate a fundamental maxim of his sect, that the natural obscurity of things, and man's consciousness of his ignorance, was the first cause or incitement to the study of philosophy.—Plato had expressed the same sentiment before him, where he says, that to wonder at things was the common affection of a philosopher, and what alone gave rise, or a beginning to philosophy itself: [in Theæt. p. 155. Edit. Serr.] whence Cicero draws this inference, which he frequently inculcates in other parts of his works, that the academy, therefore, acted prudently, in with-

Thus the academy held* the proper medium between the rigor of the stoic, and the indifference of the sceptic: the stoics embraced all their doctrines, as so many fixt and immutable truths, from which it was infamous to depart; and, by making this their point of honor, held all their disciples in an inviolable attachment to them. The sceptics, on the other hand, observed a perfect neutrality towards all opinions; maintaining all of them to be equally uncertain; and that we could not affirm of any thing, that it was this or that; since there was as much reason to take it for the one, as for the other, or for neither of them; and wholly indifferent, which of them we thought it to be: thus they lived without ever engaging themselves on any side of a question; directing their lives, in the mean time, by natural affections, and the laws and customs of their country*. But the Academics, by adopting the probable instead of the certain, kept the balance in an equal poise between the two extremes; making it their general principle, to observe a moderation in all their opinions; and, as Plutarch, who was one of them, tells us, paying a great regard always to that old maxim;

Μηδὲν ἄγαν; *ne quid nimis*†.

holding its assent, and maintaining, that there was no such thing as science, or absolute certainty within the reach of man. If this then be the sense of the passage, as it appears evidently to be, it necessarily requires inscientiam to make it consistent.—See the translation of L'Abbe D'Olivet, and his notes on the place, and Edit. Davis. Cantab.

* Vid. Sext. Empirici, Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. Aul. Gell. xi. 5.

† μέλλων εἰς πάντα, τιμήσειν τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν, ἐν Ακαδημίᾳ γενόμενος; εἶπον. in lib. de ει apud Delph. 387. it. lib. de primo frigido. fin.

As this school then was in no particular opposition to any, but an equal adversary to all, or rather to dogmatical philosophy in general, so every other sect, next to itself, readily gave it the preference to the rest: which universal concession of the second place, is commonly thought to infer a right to the first*: and if we reflect on the state of the heathen world, and what they themselves so often complain of, the darkness that surrounded them, and the infinite dissensions of the best and wisest on the fundamental questions of religion and morality†, we must necessarily allow, that the Academic manner of philosophising, was, of all others, the most rational and modest, and the best adapted to the discovery of truth: whose peculiar character it was to encourage enquiry; to sift every question to the bottom; to try the force of every argument, till it had found its real moment, or the precise quantity of its weight‡. This it was that induced Cicero, in his advanced life and ripened judgment, to desert the old academy, and declare for the new; when, from a long experience of the vanity of those sects, who called themselves the proprietors of truth, and the sole guides of life, and through a despair of finding any thing certain, he was glad, after all his pains, to take up with the probable§.

* Academico Sapienti ab omnibus cæterarum Sectarum—secundæ partes dantur—ex quo potest probabiliter confici, eum recte primum esse suo judicio, qui omnium cæterorum judicio sit secundus. Fragm, Academ. ex Augustin.

† De Nat. Deor. 1. 1. 3. Academ. 2. 3. 1. 13.

‡ Neque nostræ disputationes quicquam aliud agunt, nisi ut, in utramque partem disserendo, eliciant & tanquam exprimant aliquid, quod aut verum sit, aut ad id quam proxime accedat.—Academ. 2, 3.

§ Relictam a te, inquit, veterem jam, tractari autem novam—

But the genius and general character of both the academies, was, in some measure, still the same: for the old, though it professed to teach a peculiar system of doctrines, yet was ever diffident and cautious of affirming: and the new only the more scrupulous and sceptical of the two: this appears from the writings of Plato, the first master of the old; in which, as Cicero observes, nothing is absolutely affirmed, nothing delivered for certain, but all things freely enquired into, and both sides of the question impartially discussed*. Yet, there was another reason, that recommended this philosophy in a peculiar manner to Cicero; its being, of all others, the best suited to the profession of an orator: since, by its practice of disputing for and against every opinion of the other sects, it gave him the best opportunity of perfecting his oratorial faculty, and acquiring a habit of speaking readily upon all subjects. He calls it, therefore, the parent of elegance and copiousness, and declares, that he owed all the fame of his eloquence, not to the mechanic rules of the rhetoricians, but to the enlarged and generous principles of the academy†.

[ib 4.] Ultra enim quo progrediar, quam ut verisimilia videam, non habeo: certa dicent hi, qui & percipi ea posse dicunt, & se sapientes profitentur. [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.] Sed ne in maximis quidem rebus, quidquam adhuc inveni firmius, quod tenerem, aut quo judicium meum dirigerem, quam id, quodcumque mihi simillimum veri videretur, cum ipsum illud verum in occulto lateret. Orat. fin.

* Cujus in libris nihil affirmatur, & in utramque partem multa disseruntur, de omnibus quæritur, nihil certi dicitur. Academ. 1. 13.

† Itaque mihi semper Academiæ consuetudo, de omnibus rebus in contrarias partes disserendi, non ob eam causam solum placuit, quod aliter non posset quid in quaque re verisimile sit inveniri,

This school, however, was almost deserted in Greece, and had but few disciples in Rome, when Cicero undertook its patronage, and endeavored to revive its drooping credit. The reason is obvious: it imposed a hard task upon its scholars, of disputing against every sect, and on every question in philosophy; and if it was difficult, as Cicero says, to be master of any one, how much more of them all? which was incumbent on those, who professed themselves Academics*. No wonder then, that it lost ground every where, in proportion as ease and luxury prevailed; which naturally disposed people to the doctrine of Epicurus; in relation to which, there is a smart saying recorded of Arcesilas; who, being asked, why so many of all sects went over to the Epicureans, but none ever came back from them, replied, that men might be made eunuchs, but eunuchs could never become men again†.

sed etiam quod esset ea maxima dicendi exercitatio—[Tusc. Quæst. 2. 3. vid. Quintil. 12. 2.] Ego autem fateor; me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex Rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiæ spatiis extitisse. [Orat. sub init.] Nos ea philosophia plus utimur, quæ peperit dicendi copiam. Procem. Paradox.

* Quam nunc propemodum orbam esse in Græcia intelligo—nam si singulas disciplinas percipere magnum est, quanto majus omnes? quod facere iis necesse est, quibus propositum est, veri reperiendi causa, & contra omnes philosophos, & pro omnibus dicere.—De Nat. Deor. 1. 5.

† Diog. Laert. de Arcesila.—

Diogenes Laertius, and some later writers, speak of a third or middle academy between the old and the new, in which they are commonly followed by the moderns, who make Plato the founder of the old; Arcesilas of the middle, Carneades of the new. [See Stanley's Lives of Philos. in Carneades.] But there was no real ground for such a distinction: since Cicero never mentions any other, but the old and the new; and expressly declares, the last to have subsisted under that denomination, down to his own

This general view of Cicero's Philosophy will help us to account, in some measure, for that difficulty, which people frequently complain of, in discovering his real sentiments, as well as for the mistakes which they are apt to fall into in that search: since it was the distinguishing principle of the academy, to refute the opinions of others, rather than declare any of their own. Yet the chief difficulty does not lie here: for Cicero was not scrupulous on that head, nor affected any obscurity in the delivery of his thoughts, when it was his business to explain them: but it is the variety and different character of his several writings that perplexes the generality of his readers: for wherever they dip into his works, they are apt to fancy themselves possessed of his sentiments, and to quote them indifferently as such, whether from his orations, his dialogues, or his letters, without attending to the peculiar nature of the work, or the different person that he assumes in it.

His orations are generally of the judicial kind, or the pleadings of an advocate, whose business it was to make the best of his cause, and to deliver not so much what was true, as what was useful to his client; the patronage of truth belonging, in such cases, to the judge, and not to the pleader*.

days, as well under Carneades as Arcesilas; and, so far from splitting them into three academies, Cicero's master, Philo, maintained constantly, in his books, that there never was, in reality, any more than one, grounding his argument on what I have observed above, the similar nature and genius of the two. Academ. 1. 4.—Perturbatricem autem harum omnium rerum academiam, hanc ab Arcesila & Carneade recentem, exoremus ut sileat. De Leg. 1. 13.

* Judicis est semper in causis verum sequi; Patroni, nonnunquam verisimile, etiam si minus sit verum, defendere: quod scri-

It would be absurd, therefore, to require a scrupulous veracity, or strict declaration of his sentiments in them: the thing does not admit of it, and he himself forbids us to expect it; and, in one of those orations, frankly declares the true nature of them all—"That man," says he, "is much mistaken, "who thinks that, in these judicial pleadings, he "has an authentic specimen of our opinions: they "are the speeches of the causes and the times; not "of the men or the advocates: if the causes could "speak for themselves, nobody would employ an "orator; but we are employed to speak, not what we "would undertake to affirm upon our authority, but "what is suggested by the cause and the thing it"self*." Agreeably to this notion, Quintilian tells us, that those who are truly wise, and have spent their time in public affairs, and not in idle disputes, though they have resolved with themselves to be strictly honest in all their actions, yet will not scruple to use every argument that can be of service to the cause which they have undertaken to defend†. In his orations, therefore, where we often meet with the sentences and maxims of philosophy, we cannot always take them for his own, but as topics applied to move his audience, or to add an air of gravity and probability to his speech‡.

bere, præsertim cum de philosophia scriberem, non auderem, nisi idem placeret gravissimo Stoicorum Panætio. De Offic. 2. 14.

* Sed errat vehementer, si quis in orationibus nostris, quas in judiciis habuimus, auctoritates nostras consignatas se habere, arbitratur. Pro A. Cluent. 50.

† Quintil. l. xi. 1.

‡ Though his orations are not always the proper vouchers of his opinions, yet they are the best testimonies that can be alledged for the truth of facts; especially those which were spoken to the senate or the people, where he refers to the acts and characters

His letters, indeed, to familiar friends, and especially those to Atticus, place the real man before us, and lay open his very heart: yet, in these, some distinction must necessarily be observed; for, in letters of compliment, condolence, or recommendation, or where he is soliciting any point of importance, he adapts his arguments to the occasion; and uses such, as would induce his friend the most readily to grant what he desired. But as his letters, in general, seldom touch upon any questions of philosophy, except slightly and incidentally, so they will afford very little help to us in the discovery of his philosophical opinions, which are the subject of the present enquiry, and for which we must wholly recur to his philosophical works.

Now the general purpose of these works was, to give a history, rather of the ancient philosophy, than any account of his own; and to explain to his fellow citizens, in their own language, whatever the philosophers of all sects, and in all ages, had taught on every important question, in order to enlarge their minds, and reform their morals; and to employ himself the most usefully to his country, at a time when arms and a superior force had deprived him of the power of serving it in any other way*. This he declares in his treatise called de

of persons then living, before an audience, that was generally as well acquainted with them as himself; and it is, in such cases chiefly, that I lay any great stress upon them.

* Nam cum otio langueremus, & is esset Reipub. status, ut eam unius consilio atque cura gubernari necesse esset, primum ipsius Reipub. causa philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandam putavi; magni existimans interesse ad decus & ad laudem civitatis, res tam graves, tamque præclaras latinis etiam litteris contineri. De Nat. Deor. 1. 4. it. Academ. 1. 5. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 1. De Fin. 1. 3, 4.

Finibus, or on the chief good or ill of man; in that upon the nature of the gods; in his Tusculan disputations; and in his book on the Academic Philosophy: in all which he sometimes takes upon himself the part of a Stoic; sometimes of an Epicurean; sometimes of the Peripatetic; for the sake of explaining, with more authority, the different doctrines of each sect: and, as he assumes the person of the one, to confute the other, so, in his proper character of an Academic, he sometimes disputes against them all: while the unwary reader, not reflecting on the nature of dialogues, takes Cicero still for the perpetual speaker; and, under that mistake, often quotes a sentiment for his, that was delivered by him only in order to be confuted. But in these dialogues, as in all his other works, wherever he treats any subject professedly, or gives a judgment upon it deliberately, either in his own person, or that of an Academic, there he delivers his own opinions: and where he, himself, does not appear in the scene, he takes care, usually, to inform us, to which of the characters he has assigned the patronage of his own sentiments; who was generally the principal speaker of the dialogue; as Crassus, in his treatise on the orator; Scipio, in that on the Republic; Cato, in his piece on old age. This key will let us into his real thoughts: and enable us, to trace his genuine notions through every part of his writings; from which I shall now proceed to give a short abstract of them.

As to physics, or natural philosophy, he seems to have had the same notion with Socrates, that a minute and particular attention to it, and the making

it the sole end and object of our inquiries, was a study rather curious, than profitable, and contributing but little to the improvement of human life*. For though he was perfectly acquainted with the various systems of all the philosophers of any name, from the earliest antiquity, and has explained them all in his works; yet he did not think it worth while, either to form any distinct opinions of his own, or, at least, to declare them. From his account, however, of those systems, we may observe, that several of the fundamental principles of the modern philosophy, which pass for the original discoveries of these later times, are the revival rather of ancient notions, maintained by some of the first philosophers, of whom we have any notice in history; as the motion of the earth; the Antipodes; a vacuum; and an universal gravitation, or attractive quality of matter; which holds the world in its present form and order†.

But, in all the great points of religion and morality, which are of more immediate relation to the happiness of man, the being of a God; a Providence; the immortality of the soul; a future state of rewards and punishments; and the eternal difference of good and ill; he has largely and clearly declared his mind in many parts of his writings. He maintained that there was one God or Supreme Being, incorporeal, eternal, self-existent; who created the world by his power, and sustained it by his providence. This he inferred from the

* Ut enim modo dixi, omnibus fere in rebus, & maxime in Physicis, quid non sit, citius, quam quid sit, dixerim. De Nat. Deor. 1. 21. Academ. 2. 39.

† De Nat. Deor. 2. 45. Academ. 2. 38, 39.

consent of all nations; the order and beauty of the heavenly bodies; the evident marks of counsel, wisdom, and a fitness to certain ends, observable in the whole, and in every part of the visible world; and declares that person unworthy of the name of man, who can believe all this to have been made by chance, when, with the utmost stretch of human wisdom, we cannot penetrate the depth of that wisdom which contrived it*."

He believed also a divine providence, constantly presiding over the whole system, and extending its care to all the principal members of it; with a peculiar attention to the conduct and actions of men; but leaving the minute and inferior parts to the course of his general laws. This he collected from the nature and attributes of the Deity; his omniscience, omnipresence, and infinite goodness; that could never desert or neglect what he had once

* Nec Deus ipse—alio modo intelligi potest, nisi mens soluta quædam & libera, segregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia sentiens & movens, ipsaque prædita motu sempiterno. [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 27.] Sed omnes gentes una lex & sempiterna & immortalis continebit, unusque erit quasi magister, & imperator omnium Deus—Fragm. lib. 3. de Repub.

Ut porro firmissimum hoc adferri videtur, cur Deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera,—cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio—omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda est—[Tusc. Quæst. 1. 14.] Hæc igitur & talia innumerabilia cum cernimus? possumusne dubitare, quin his præsit aliquis vel effector, (si hæc nata sunt, ut Platoni videtur,) vel, (si semper fuerunt, ut Aristoteli placet) moderator tanti operis & muneris. [ib. 28.] Id est primum, quod inter omnes, nisi admodum impios, convenit, mihi quidem ex animo exuri non potest, esse Deos. [Nat. Deor. 3. 3.] Esse præstantem aliquam, æternamque naturam, & eam suspiciendam, admirandamque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi, ordoque rerum cœlestium cogit confiteri. [de Divin. 2. 72.] Quæ quanto consilio gerantur, nullo consilio assequi possumus. De Nat. Deor. 2. 38.

produced into being: and declares, that without this belief, there could be no such thing as piety or religion in the world*.

He held, likewise, the immortality of the soul, and its separate existence after death, in a state of happiness or misery. This he inferred from that ardent thirst of immortality, which was always the most conspicuous in the best and most exalted minds; from which the truest specimen of their nature must needs be drawn: from its unmixt and indivisible essence; which had nothing separable or perishable in it: from its wonderful powers and faculties; its principle of self-motion; its memory, invention, wit, comprehension; which were all incompatible with sluggish matter†."

The stoics fancied, that the soul was a subtilized, fiery substance, which survived the body after death, and subsisted a long time, yet not eternally; but was to perish, at last, in the general conflagration. In which they allowed, as Cicero says, the only

* De maxima autem re, eodem modo; divina mente atque natura mundum universum atque maximas ejus partes administrari —[de Fin. 4. 5.] Quam vim animum esse dicunt mundi, eandemque esse mentem sapientiamque perfectam; quem Deum appellant, omniumque rerum, quæ sunt ei subjectæ, quasi prudentiam quandam, procurantem cœlestia maxime, deinde in terris ea, quæ pertinent ad homines. Academ. 1. 8. Vid. Nat. Deor. 1, 2, 44. 2. 66. 3. 36.

† Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cujusque animus maxime ad immortalitatem niteretur. [Cato. 23.] Num dubitas quin specimen naturæ capi debeat ex optima quaque natura?—[Tusc. Quæst. 1. 14.] Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit; tanta memoria præteritorum, futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tot scientiæ, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quæ res eas contineat, esse mortalem: cumque semper agitetur animus, &c. Cato. 21. Tusc. Quæst. 1, 23, 25, 26, &c. de Amicit. 4.

thing that was hard to conceive; its separate existence from the body; yet denied what was not only easy to imagine, but a consequence of the other; its eternal duration*. Aristotle taught, that, besides the four elements of the material world, whence all other things were supposed to draw their being, there was a fifth essence or nature, peculiar to God and the soul, which had nothing in it that was common to any of the rest†. This opinion Cicero followed, and illustrated, with his usual perspicuity, in the following passage.

"The origin of the human soul," says he, "is "not to be found any where on earth. There is "nothing mixt, concrete, or earthly; nothing of "water, air, or fire in it. For these natures are not "susceptible of memory, intelligence, or thought; "have nothing that can retain the past, foresee the "future, lay hold on the present; which faculties "are purely divine, and could not possibly be de-"rived to man, except from God. The nature of "the soul, therefore, is of a singular kind; distinct "from these known and obvious natures: and "whatever it be that feels and tastes, that lives "and moves in us, it must be heavenly and divine, "and for that reason eternal. Nor is God indeed "himself, whose existence we clearly discover, to "be comprehended by us in any other manner, but

* Zenoni Stoico animus ignis videtur. [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.] Stoici autem usuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus; diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper negant—qui, quod in tota hac causa difficillimum est, suscipiunt, posse animum manere corpore vacantem: illud autem, quod non modo facile ad credendum est, sed, eo concesso quod volunt, consequens idcirco, non dant, ut cum diu permanserit ne intereat. Ib. 1. 31, 32.

† Ib. x.

"as a free and pure mind, clear from all mortal "concretion; observing and moving all things, and "endued with an eternal principle of self-motion: "of this kind, and of the same nature, is the hu-"man soul*."

As to a future state of rewards and punishments, he considered it as a consequence of the souls immortality, deducible from the attributes of God, and the condition of man's life on earth; and thought it so highly probable, that we could hardly doubt of it, he says, unless it should happen to our minds, when they look into themselves, as it does to our eyes, when they look too intensely at the sun, that, finding their sight dazzled, they give over looking at all†. In this opinion he followed Socrates and Plato, for whose judgment he professes so great a reverence, that, if they had given no reasons, where yet they had given many, he should have been persuaded, he says, by their sole authority‡. Socrates, therefore, as he tells us, declared, in his dying speech, that there were two ways appointed to human souls, at their departure from the body: that those who had been immersed in sensual pleasures and lusts, and had polluted themselves with private vices, or public crimes against their country, took an obscure and devious road, remote from the seat and assembly of the Gods; whilst those who had preserved their

* Ib. 27.

† Nec vero de hoc quisquam dubitare posset, nisi idem nobis accideret diligenter de animo cogitantibus, quod his sæpe usu venit, qui acriter oculis deficientem solem intuerentur, ut aspectum omnino amitterent, &c. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 30.

‡ Ib. 21. de Amicit. 4.

integrity, and received little or no contagion from the body, from which they had constantly abstracted themselves, and, in the bodies of men, imitated the life of the Gods, had an easy ascent lying open before them to those Gods, from whom they derived their being*.

From what has already been said, the reader will easily imagine what Cicero's opinion must have been concerning the religion of his country: for a mind, enlightened by the noble principles just stated, could not possibly harbour a thought of the truth or divinity of so absurd a worship: and the liberty, which not only he, but all the old writers take, in ridiculing the characters of their Gods, and the fictions of their infernal torments†, shews, that there was not a man of liberal education, who did not consider it as an engine of state, or political system; contrived for the uses of government, and to keep the people in order: in this light Cicero always commends it, as a wise institution; singularly adapted to the genius of Rome; and constantly inculcates an adherence to its rites, as the duty of all good citizens‡.

* Ib. 30.

† Dic quæso, num te illa terrent? triceps apud inferos Cerberus? Cocyti fremitus? transvectio Acherontis?——adeone me delirare censes ut ista credam?—[ib. 1. 5, 6, 21.] Quæ anus tam excors inveniri potest, quæ illa, quæ quondam credebantur, apud inferos portenta extimescat? De Nat. Deor. 2. 2.

‡ Ordiar ab Haruspicina, quam ego Reipub. causa communisque religionis, colendam censeo. [De Divin. 2. 12.] Nam & Majorum instituta tueri sacris cæremoniisque retinendis sapientis est. Ib. 72. De Leg. 2. 12, 13.—

N. B. There is a reflection in Polybius, exactly conformable to Cicero's sentiments on this subject. "The greatest advantage," says he, "which the Roman government seems to have over other "states, is in the opinion publicly entertained by them about the

Their religion consisted of two principal branches; the observation of the auspices, and the worship of the Gods: the first was instituted by Romulus; the second by his successor, Numa; who drew up a ritual, or order of ceremonies to be observed in the different sacrifices of their several deities: to these a third part was afterwards added; relating to divine admonitions from portents, monstrous births, the entrails of beasts in sacrifice, and the prophecies of the sibyls*. The college of augurs presided over the auspices, as the supreme interpreters of the will of Jove: and determined what signs were propitious, and what not: the other priests were the judges of all the other cases relating to religion; as well of what concerned the public worship, as that of private families†.

" Gods; and that very thing, which is so generally decried by other " mortals, sustained the Republic of Rome; I mean, superstition. For this was carried by them to such a height, and introduced so effectually, both into the private lives of the citizens, and the public affairs of the city, that one cannot help being surprised at it. But I take it all to have been contrived for the sake of the populace. For if a society could be formed of wise men only, such a scheme would not be necessary: but since the multitude is always giddy, and agitated by illicit desires, wild resentments, violent passions; there was no way left of restraining them, but by the help of such secret terrors and tragical fictions. It was not, therefore, without great prudence and foresight, that the ancients took care to instil into them these notions of the Gods and infernal punishments, which the moderns, on the other hand, are now rashly and absurdly endeavoring to extirpate." Polyb. l. 6. p. 497.

* Cum omnis populi Romani religio in sacra & in auspicia divisa sit, tertium adjunctum sit, si quid prædictionis causa ex portentis & monstris Sibyllæ interpretes, haruspicesve monuerunt. De Nat. Deor. 3. 2.

† —Cur sacris pontifices, cur auspiciis augures præsunt? [ib. 1. 44.] Est autem boni auguris, meminisse maximis Reipub. temporibus præsto esse debere, Jovique optimo maximo se consiliarium atque administrum datum—de Leg. 3. 19.

Now the priests of all denominations were of the first nobility of Rome; and the augurs, especially, were commonly senators of consular rank, who had passed through all the dignities of the Republic, and, by their power over the auspices, could put an immediate stop to all proceedings, and dissolve, at once, all the assemblies of the people convened for public business. The interpretation of the Sibyl's prophecies was vested in the Decemviri, or guardians of the Sibylline books; ten persons of distinguised rank, chosen usually from the priests: and the province of interpreting prodigies, and inspecting the entrails, belonged to the haruspices; who were the servants of the public, hired to attend the magistrates in all their sacrifices; and who never failed to accommodate their answers to the views of those who employed them, and to whose protection they owed their credit and their livelihood.

This constitution of a religion, among a people naturally superstitious, necessarily threw the chief influence in affairs into the hands of the senate, and the better sort; who, by this advantage, frequently checked the violences of the populace, and the factious attempts of the tribunes*: so that it is perpetually applauded by Cicero, as the main bulwark of the Republic; though considered all the while, by men of sense, as merely political, and of human invention. The only part, that admitted any dispute concerning its origin, was augury, or

* Omnibus magistratibus auspicia—dantur, ut multos inutiles comitiatus, probabiles impedirent moræ: sæpe enim populi impetum injustum auspiciis Dii immortales represserunt. De Leg. 3. 12.

their method of divining by auspices. The stoics held, that God, out of his goodness to man, had imprinted, on the nature of things, certain marks or notices of future events; as on the entrails of beasts, the flight of birds, thunder, and other celestial signs, which, by long observation, and the experience of ages, were reduced to an art, by which the meaning of each sign might be determined and applied to the event, that was signified by it. This they called artificial divination, in distinction from the natural; which they supposed to flow from an instinct, or native power, implanted in the soul, which it exerted always with the greatest efficacy, when it was the most free and disengaged from the body, as in dreams and madness*. But this notion was generally ridiculed by the other philosophers: and of all the college of augurs, there was but one, at this time, who maintained it, Appius Claudius; who was laughed at for his pains by the rest, and called the Pisidian†: it occasioned, however, a smart controversy between him and his colleague, Marcellus, who severally published books on each side of the question; wherein Marcellus, asserted the whole affair, to be the contrivance of statesmen; Appius, on the contrary, that there was a real art

* Duo sunt enim divinandi genera, quorum alterum artis est, alterum naturæ—est enim vis & natura quædam, quæ cum observatis longo tempore significationibus, tum aliquo instinctu, inflatuque divino futura prænunciat.—De Div. 1. 6. Vid. it. ib. 18.

† Quem irridebant Collegæ tui, eumque tum Pisidam, tum Soranum Augurum esse dicebant. Ib. 47.

The Pisidians were a barbarous people of the lesser Asia; famous for their superstitious observation of the auspices, or their divination by the flight of birds. De Div. 1. 41, 42.

and power of divining, subsisting in the augural discipline, and taught by the augural books*. Appius dedicated this treatise to Cicero†: who, though he preferred Marcellus's notion, yet did not wholly agree with either, but believed, that augury might probably be instituted, at first, upon a persuasion of its divinity; and when, by the improvements of arts and learning, that opinion was exploded in succeeding ages, yet the thing, itself, was wisely retained, for the sake of its use to the Republic‡.

But whatever was the origin of the religion of Rome, Cicero's religion was undoubtedly of heavenly extraction; built, as we have seen, on the foundation of a God; a Providence; an immortality. He considered this short period of our life on earth, as a state of trial, or a kind of school; in which we were to improve and prepare ourselves for that eternity of existence, which was provided for us hereafter: that we were placed, therefore, here by the Creator, not so much to inhabit the earth, as to contemplate the heavens; on which were imprinted, in legible characters, all the duties of that nature, which was given to us. He observed, that this spectacle belonged to no other

* Sed est in Collegio vestro inter Marcellum & Appium, optimos Augures, magna dissensio:—cum alteri placeat, auspicia ista ad utilitatem Reipub. composita; alteri disciplina vestra quasi divinare prorsus posse videatur. De Leg. 2. 13.

† Illo libro Augurali, quem ad me amantissime scriptum, suavissimum misisti. Ep. Fam. 3. 4.

‡ Non enim sumus ii nos Augures, qui avium, reliquorumque signorum observatione futura dicamus: et tamen credo Romulum, qui urbem auspicato condidit, habuisse opinionem, esse in providendis rebus augurandi scientiam. Errabat multis in rebus Antiquitas, &c. De Div. 2. 33.

animal but man; to whom God, for that reason, had given an erect and upright form; with eyes not prone or fixed upon the ground, like those of other animals, but placed on high and sublime; in a situation the most proper for this celestial contemplation; to remind him perpetually of his task, and to acquaint him with the place from which he sprung, and for which he was finally designed*. He took the system of the world, or the visible works of God, to be the promulgation of God's law, or the declaration of his will to mankind; whence, as we might collect his being, nature, and attributes, so we could trace the reasons also and motives of his acting; till, by observing what he had done, we might learn what we ought to do, and, by the operations of the divine reason, be instructed how to perfect our own; since the perfection of man consisted in the imitation of God.

From this source he deduced the origin of all duty or moral obligation; from the will of God, manifested in his works; or from that eternal reason, fitness, and relation of things, which is displayed in every part of the creation. This he calls the original immutable law; the criterion of good and ill; of just and unjust; imprinted on the nature of things, as the rule by which all human laws are

* Sed credo Deos sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique cœlestium ordinem contemplantes, imitarentur eum vitæ modo & constantia, &c. [Cato 21.] Nam cum cæteras animantes abjecisset ad pastum, solum hominem erexit, ad cœlique quasi cognationis, domiciliique pristini conspectum excitavit. [de Leg. 1. 9.] Ipse autem homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum & imitandum, nullo modo perfectus, sed est quædam particula perfecti. Nat. Deor. 2. 14, 56.

to be formed; which, whenever they deviate from this pattern, ought, he says, to be called any thing rather than laws; and are, in effect, nothing but acts of force, violence, and tyranny: that to imagine the distinction of good and ill, not to be founded in nature, but in custom, opinion, or human institution, is mere folly and madness; which would overthrow all society, and confound all right and justice amongst men*: that this was the constant opinion of the wisest of all ages; who held, that the mind of God, governing all things by eternal reason, was the principal and sovereign law; whose substitute, on earth, was the reason or mind of the wise: to which purpose there are many strong and beautiful passages, scattered occasionally through every part of his works†.

* Sed etiam modestiam quandam cognitio rerum cœlestium adfert iis, qui videant, quanta sit etiam apud Deos moderatio, quantus ordo; & magnitudinem animi, Deorum opera & facta cernentibus; justitiam etiam, cum cognitum habeas, quid sit summi Rectoris & Domini numen, quod consilium, quæ voluntas; cujus ad naturam apta ratio vera illa & summa lex a Philosophis dicitur.—De Fin. 4. 5.

Nos legem bonam a mala, nulla alia nisi naturæ norma dividere possumus. Nec solum jus & injuria natura dijudicantur, sed omnino omnia honesta ac turpia; nam & communis intelligentia nobis notas res efficit, easque in animis nostris inchoat, ut honesta in virtute ponantur, in vitiis turpia. Ea autem in opinione existimare, non in natura posita, dementis est. [De Leg. 1. 16.] Erat enim ratio profecta a rerum natura; & ad recte faciendum impellens, & a delicto avocans; quæ non tum demum incipit lex esse, cum scripta est, sed tum, cum orta est: orta autem simul est cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera, atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, recta est ratio summi Jovis, &c.—De Leg. 2. 4. 5. &c.

† Hanc igitur video sapientissimorum fuisse sententiam, legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, nec Scitum aliquod esse populorum, sed æternum quiddam, quod universum mundum regeret, imperandi, prohibendique sapientia, &c. ib. &c.

"The true law," says he, "is right reason, con-
"formable to the nature of things; constant, eter-
"nal, diffused through all; which calls us to duty
"by commanding, deters us from sin by forbidding;
"which never loses its influence with the good;
"nor ever preserves it with the wicked. This can-
"not possibly be over-ruled by any other law;
"nor abrogated in the whole or in part: nor can
"we be absolved from it either by the senate or
"the people: nor are we to seek any other com-
"ment or interpreter of it, but itself: nor can
"there be one law at Rome, another at Athens;
"one now, another hereafter; but the same eter-
"nal, immutable law, comprehends all nations, at
"all times, under one common Master and Gover-
"nor of all, God. He is the inventor, propounder,
"enactor of this law: and whosoever will not obey
"it, must first renounce himself, and throw off
"the nature of man: by doing which, he will
"suffer the greatest punishment, though he
"should escape all the other torments which
"are commonly believed to be prepared for the
"wicked*."

In another place he tells us, that the study of this law was the only thing which could teach us that most important of all lessons, said to be prescribed by the Pythian oracle, to know ourselves; that is, to know our true nature and rank in the universal system; the relation that we bear to all other beings; and the purposes for which we were sent into the world. "When a man," says he, "has attentively surveyed the heavens, the

* Fragm. lib. 3. de Repub. ex Lactantio.

" earth, the sea, and all things in them; observed " whence they sprung, and whither they all tend; " when and how they are to end; what part is " mortal and perishable, what divine and eternal: " when he has almost reached and touched, as it " were, the governor and ruler of them all, and " discovered himself not to be confined to the walls " of any certain place, but a citizen of the world, " as of one common city; in this magnificent view " of things; in this enlarged prospect and know- " ledge of nature; good Gods, how will he learn " to know himself? How will he contemn, despise, " and set at nought all those things, which the " vulgar esteem the most splendid and glorious*?"

These were the principles on which Cicero built his religion and morality; which shine, indeed, through all his writings, but were largely and explicitly illustrated by him in his treatises on government and on laws; to which he added, afterwards, his Book of Offices, to make the scheme complete: volumes which, as the elder Pliny says to the emperor Titus, ought not only to be read, but to be got by heart†. The first and greatest of these works is lost, excepting a few fragments, in which he had delivered his real thoughts so professedly, that, in a letter to Atticus, he calls those six books on the Republic, so many pledges given to his country, for the integrity of his life; from which, if ever he swerved, he could never have the face to look into them again‡. In his Book of Laws, he

* De Leg. 1. 23.

† Quæ volumina ejus ediscenda non modo in manibus habenda quotidie, nosti. Præf. ad Hist. Nat.

‡ Præsertim cum sex libris, tanquam prædibus, meipsum ob-

pursued the same argument, and deduced the origin of law from the will of the Supreme God. These two pieces, therefore, contain his belief, and the Book of Offices his practice: where he has traced out all the duties of man, or a rule of life, conformable to the divine principles, which he had established in the other two; to which he often refers, as to the foundation of his whole system*. This work was one of the last that he finished, for the use of his son, to whom he addressed it; being desirous, in the decline of a glorious life, to explain to him the maxims by which he had governed it; and teach him the way of passing through the world with innocence, virtue, and true glory, to an immortality of happiness: where the strictness of his morals, adapted to all the various cases and circumstances of human life, will serve, if not to instruct, yet to reproach the practice of most Christians. This was that law, which is mentioned by St. Paul, to be taught by nature, and written on the hearts of the Gentiles, to guide them through that state of ignorance and darkness, of which they themselves complained, till they should be blessed with a more perfect revelation of the divine will; and this scheme of it, professed by Cicero, was certainly the most complete that the Gentile world had ever been acquainted with; the utmost effort that human nature could make, towards attaining its proper end; or that supreme good, for which the Creator had designed it: upon the contemplation of

stiinxerim; quos tibi tam valde probari gaudeo. [Ad Att. 6. 1.] Ego audebo legere unquam, aut attingere eos libros, quos tu dilaudas, si tale quid fecero? Ib. 2.

* Offic. 3. 5, 6, 17.

which sublime truths, as delivered by a heathen, Erasmus could not help persuading himself, that the breast from which they flowed must needs have been inspired by the Deity*."

But after all these glorious sentiments that we have been ascribing to Cicero, and collecting from his writings, some have been apt to consider them, as the flourishes rather of his eloquence, than the conclusions of his reason; since, in other parts of his works, he seems to intimate, not only a diffidence, but a disbelief of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments; and especially in his letters, where he is supposed to declare his mind with the greatest frankness†. But in all the

* Quid aliis accidat nescio; me legentem sic afficere solet M. Tullius, præsertim ubi de bene vivendo disserit, ut dubitare non possim, quin illud pectus, unde ista prodierunt, aliqua divinitas occuparit. Erasm. Ep. ad Joh. Ulattenum.

† Sæpissime & legi & audivi, nihil mali esse in morte; in qua si resideat sensus, immortalitas illa potius, quam mors ducenda est: sin sit amissus, nulla videri miseria debeat, quæ non sentiatur. [Ep. Fam. 5. 16.] Ut hoc saltem in maximis malis boni consequamur, ut mortem, quam etiam beati contemnere debeamus, propterea quod nullum sensum esset habitura, nunc sic affecti, non modo contemnere debeamus, sed etiam optare. [Ib. 21.] Sed hæc consolatio levis; illa gravior, qua te uti spero, ego certe utor: nec enim dum ero, angar ulla re, cum omni vacem culpa; & si non ero, sensu omnino carebo. [Ib. 6. 3.] Deinde—si jam vocer ad exitum vitæ, non ab ea Rep. avellar, qua carendum esse doleam, præsertim cum id sine ullo sensu futurum sit. [Ib. 4.] Una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit, ferre moderate, præsertim cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum. [Ib. 21.] Sed de illa—fors viderit, aut si quis est, qui curet Deus. Ad Att. 4. x.

N. B. By this illustration of Cicero's moral principles, we learn the force of that rule, which he frequently prescribes, of following nature, as the sure and unerring guide of life: [De Leg. 1. 6. de Senect. 2. de Amicit, 5] by which he means that law or will of God, displayed in the nature of things; not, as some are apt to interpret him, the dictates of our unruly passions, which are falsely called natural; being the motions only of vitiated appetites, and the creatures of habit, not of nature; the gratification of which,

passages brought to support this objection, where he is imagined to speak of death as the end of all things to man, as they are addressed to friends in distress, by way of consolation, so some commentators take them to mean nothing more than that death is the end of all things here below, and without any farther sense of what is done upon earth: yet should they be understood to relate, as perhaps they may, to an utter extinction of our being; it must be observed, that he was writing, in all probabilily, to Epicureans*, and accommodating his arguments to the men; by offering such topics of comfort to them from their own philosophy, as they themselves held to be the most effectual. But if this also should seem precarious, we must remember always that Cicero was an academic; and though he believed a future state, was fond of the opinion, and declares himself resolved never to part with it; yet he believed it as probable only, not as certain†: and as probability implies some mixture of doubt, and admits the degrees of more and less, so it admits also

as he tells us, is more contrary to nature, and consequently more to be avoided than poverty, pain, or even death itself. [Offic. 3, 5, 6.]

* This will appear to be a very probable supposition, when we recollect that the generality of the Roman nobility, and of Cicero's friends, were of the Epicurean sect; and particularly the family of Torquatus, to whom two of these very letters are addressed. —Accurate quondam a L. Torquato, homine omni doctrina erudito, defensa est Epicuri sententia de voluptate, a meque ei responsum. De Fin. 1. 5.

† Quod si in hoc erro, quod animos hominum immortales esse credam, lubenter erro. Nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo. Cato. 23. Geram tibi morem, & ea, quæ vis, ut potero, explicabo: nec tamen quasi Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint & fixa quæ dixero: sed ut homunculus unus e multis, probabilia conjectura sequens. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.

some variety in the stability of our persuasion: thus, in a melancholy hour, when his spirits were depressed, the same argument would not appear to him with the same force; but doubts and difficulties get the ascendant, and what humored his present chagrin, find the readiest admission. The passages alledged were all of this kind, written in the season of his dejection, when all things were going wrong with him, in the height of Cæsar's power; and though we allow them to have all the force that they can possibly bear, and to express what Cicero really meant at that time, yet they prove at last nothing more than that, agreeably to the character and principles of the academy, he sometimes doubted of what he generally believed. But, after all, whatever be the sense of them, it cannot surely be thought reasonable to oppose a few scattered hints, accidentally thrown out, when he was not considering the subject, to the volumes that he had deliberately written on the other side of the question*.

* From this general view of Cicero's religion, one cannot help observing, that the most exalted state of human reason is so far from superseding the use, that it demonstrates the benefit of a more explicit revelation; for though the natural law, in the perfection to which it was carried by Cicero, might serve for a sufficient guide to the few, such as himself, of enlarged minds and happy dispositions, yet it had been so long depraved and adulterated by the prevailing errors and vices of mankind, that it was not discoverable even to those few, without great pains and study, and could not produce in them, at last, any thing more than a hope, never a full persuasion; whilst the greatest part of mankind, even of the virtuous and inquisitive, lived without the knowledge of a God, or the expectation of a futurity, and the multitude in every country was left to the gross idolatry of the popular worship. When we reflect on all this, we must needs see abundant reason to be thankful to God, for the divine light of his gospel, which has revealed, at last, to babes, what was hidden from the wise; and, without the

As to his political conduct, no man was ever a more determined patriot, or a warmer lover of his country, than he: his whole character, natural temper, choice of life and principles, made its true interest inseparable from his own. His general view, therefore, was always one and the same, to support the peace and liberty of the Republic, in that form and constitution of it which their ancestors had delivered down to them*. He looked upon that as the only foundation on which it could be supported, and used to quote a verse of old Ennius, as the dictate of an oracle, which derived all the glory of Rome from an adherence to its ancient manners and discipline.

Moribus antiquis stat res Romana virisque†.

It is one of his maxims, which he inculcates in his writings, that, as the end of a pilot is a prosperous voyage; of a physician, the health of his patient; of a general, victory; so that of a statesman is, to make his citizens happy, to make them firm in power, rich in wealth, splendid in glory, eminent in virtue; which he declares to be the greatest and best of all works among men‡: and, as this cannot be effected, but by the concord and harmony of

pains of searching, or danger of mistaking, has given us not only the hope, but the assurance, of happiness, and made us not only the believers, but the heirs of immortality.

* Sic tibi, mi Pæte, persuade, me dies & noctes nihil aliud agere, nihil curare, nisi ut mei cives salvi liberique sint. Ep. Fam. l. 24.

† Quem quidem ille versum vel brevitate vel veritate, tanquam ex Oraculo mihi quodam effatus videtur, &c. vid. Fragm. de Repub. l. 5.

‡ Ut gubernatori cursus secundus—sic huic moderatori Reip. beata civium vita proposita est, &c. vid. ib.—

the constituent members of a city*; so it was his constant aim to unite the different orders of the state into one common interest, and to inspire them with a mutual confidence in each other, so as to balance the supremacy of the people, by the authority of the senate; that the one should enact, but the other advise; the one have the last resort, the other the chief influence†. This was the old constitution of Rome, by which it had raised itself to all its grandeur, whilst all its misfortunes were owing to the contrary principle—of distrust and dissention between these two rival powers: it was the great object, therefore, of his policy, to throw the ascendant, in all affairs, into the hands of the senate and the magistrates, as far as it was consistent with the rights and liberties of the people; which will always be the general view of the wise and honest in all popular governments.

This was the principle which he espoused from the beginning, and pursued to the end of his life: and though, in some passages of his history, he may be thought, perhaps, to have deviated from it, yet, upon an impartial review of the case, we shall find that his end was always the same, though he had changed his measures of pursuing it, when compelled to it by the violence of the times, and an over-ruling force, and a necessary regard to his

* Quæ harmonia a Musicis dicitur in cantu, ea est in civitate concordia, arctissimum atque optimum omni in Repub. vinculum incolumitatis, &c. Ib. l. 2.

† Nam—si Senatus dominus sit publici consilii—possit, ex temperatione juris, cum potestas in populo, auctoritas in Senatu sit, teneri ille moderatus & concors civitatis status. De Leg. 3. 12. it. ib. 17.

own safety; so that he might say, with great truth, what an Athenian orator once said, in excuse of his inconstancy; that he had acted, indeed, on some occasions, contrary to himself, but never to the Republic*: and here also his academic philosophy seems to have shewed its superior use in practical, as well as in speculative life, by indulging that liberty of acting which nature and reason require, and, when the times and things themselves are changed, allowing a change of conduct, and a recourse to new means, for the attainment of the same end.

The three sects, which, at this time, chiefly engrossed the philosophical part of Rome, were, the stoic, the epicurean, and the academic; and the chief ornaments of each were, Cato, Atticus, and Cicero, who lived together in strict friendship, and a mutual esteem of each other's virtue: but the different behaviour of these three will shew, by fact and example, the different merit of their several principles, and which of them was the best adapted to promote the good of society.

The stoics were the bigots or enthusiasts in philosophy, who held none to be truly wise or good but themselves; placed perfect happiness in virtue, though stript of every other good; affirmed all sins to be equal; all deviations from right equally wicked; to kill a dunghill cock, without reason, the same crime as to kill a parent; that a wise man could never forgive; never be moved by anger, favor, or pity; never be deceived; never repent; ne-

* Plut. de Demade. in vit. Demost. p. 851. Edit. Par.

ver change his mind*. With these principles, Cato entered into public life, and acted in it, as Cicero says, as if he had lived in the polity of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus†. He made no distinction of times or things; no allowance for the weakness of the Republic, and the power of those who oppressed it: it was his maxim to combat all power not built upon the laws, or to defy it, at least, if he could not control it: he knew no way to his end, but the direct; and, whatever obstructions he met with, resolved still to rush on, and either to surmount them, or perish in the attempt; taking it for a baseness and confession of being conquered, to decline a tittle from the true road. In an age, therefore, of the utmost libertinism, when the public discipline was lost, and the government itself tottering, he struggled with the same zeal against all corruption, and waged a perpetual war with a superior force, whilst the rigor of his principles tended rather to alienate friends, than reconcile enemies; and, by provoking the power that he could not subdue, helped to hasten that ruin which he was striving to avert‡: so that,

* Sapientem gratia nunquam moveri, nunquam cujusquam delicto ignoscere: neminem misericordem esse, nisi stultum; viri non esse, neque exorari, neque placari; omnia peccata esse paria —nec minus delinquere eum, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum, qui patrem suffocaverit: sapientem nihil opinari, nullius rei pœnitere, nulla in re falli, sententiam mutare nunquam. Pro Muræn. 29.

† Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ, non tanquam in Romuli fæce, sententiam. Ad Att. 2. 1. p. 178.

‡ Pompeium & Cæsarem, quorum nemo alterum offendere audebat, nisi ut alterum demereretur, [Cato] simul provocavit. Sen. Ep. 104.

after a perpetual course of disappointments and repulses, finding himself unable to pursue his old way any farther, instead of taking a new one, he was driven by his philosophy to put an end to his life.

But as the stoics exalted human nature too high, so the epicureans depressed it too low; as those raised it to the heroic, these debased it to the brutal, state: they held pleasure to be the chief good of man, death the extinction of his being, and placed their happiness, consequently, in the secure enjoyment of a pleasurable life, esteeming virtue on no other account, than as it was a handmaid to pleasure, and helped to ensure the possession of it, by preserving health, and conciliating friends. Their wise man, therefore, had no other duty, but to provide for his own ease; to decline all struggles; to retire from public affairs, and to imitate the life of their Gods, by passing his days in a calm, contemplative, undisturbed repose, in the midst of rural shades and pleasant gardens. This was the scheme that Atticus followed: he had all the talents that could qualify a man to be useful to society, great parts, learning, judgment, candor, benevolence, generosity, the same love of his country, and the same sentiments in politics with Cicero*, whom he was always advising, and urging to act, yet determined never to act himself, or never, at least, so far as to disturb his ease, or endanger his safety. For though he was so strictly united with Cicero, and valued

* In Repub. ita est versatus, ut semper optimarum partium & esset, & existimaretur; neque tamen se civilibus fluctibus committeret.—Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 6.

him above all men, yet he managed an interest all the while with the opposite faction, and a friendship even with his mortal enemies, Clodius and Antony; that he might secure against all events the grand point, which he had in view, the peace and tranquillity of his life. Thus two excellent men, by their mistaken notions of virtue, drawn from the principles of their philosophy, were made useless in a manner to their country; each in a different extreme of life; the one always acting and exposing himself to dangers, without the prospect of doing good; the other, without attempting to do any, resolving never to act at all.

Cicero chose the middle way between the obstinacy of Cato, and the indolence of Atticus: he preferred always the readiest road to what was right, if it lay open to him; if not, took the next, that seemed likely to bring him to the same end; and in politics, as in morality, when he could not arrive at the true, contented himself with the probable. He often compares the statesman to the pilot; whose art consists in managing every turn of the winds, and applying even the most perverse to the progress of his voyage; so as by changing his course, and enlarging his circuit of sailing, to arrive with safety, though later, at his destined port*. He mentions, likewise, an observation, which long

* Nunquam enim præstantibus in Repub. gubernanda viris laudata est in una sententia perpetua permansio: sed ut in navigando tempestati obsequi artis est, etiamsi portum tenere non queas: cum vero id possis mutata velificatione assequi, stultum est eum tenere cursum cum periculo quem ceperis, potius quam, eo commutato, quo velis tandem pervenire, &c. Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

experience had confirmed to him, that none of the popular and ambitious, who aspired to extraordinary commands, and to be leaders in the Republic, ever chose to obtain their ends from the people, till they had first been repulsed by the senate*. This was verified by all their civil dissensions, from the Gracchi down to Cæsar: so that when he saw men of this spirit at the head of the government; who, by the splendor of their lives and actions, had acquired an ascendant over the populace; it was his constant advice to the senate, to gain them by gentle compliances, and to gratify their thirst of power by voluntary grants of it, as the best way to moderate their ambition, and reclaim them from desperate counsels. He declared contention to be no longer prudent than while it either did service, or at least no hurt; but when faction was grown too strong to be withstood, that it was time to give over fighting; and nothing left but to extract some good out of the ill, by mitigating that power by patience, which they could not reduce by force, and conciliating it, if possible, to the interests of the state†. This was what he advised and what he practised: and it will account,

* Neminem unquam est hic ordo amplexus honoribus & beneficiis suis, qui ullam dignitatem præstabiliorem ea, quam per vos esset adeptus, putarit. Nemo unquam hic potuit esse princeps, qui maluerit esse popularis. De Provin. Consular. 16. it. Philip. 5. 18.

† Sed contentio tamdiu sapiens est, quamdiu aut proficit aliquid, aut si non proficit, non obest civitati: voluimus quædam, contendimus, experti sumus, non obtenta sunt. Pro Corn. Balbo. 27.

Sic ab hominibus doctis accepimus, non solum ex malis eligere minima oportere; sed etiam excerpere ex his ipsis si quid inesset boni. De Offic. 1. 1.

in a great measure, for those parts of his conduct, which are the most liable to exception, on the account of that complaisance, which he is supposed to have paid at different times to the several usurpers of illegal power.

He made a just distinction between bearing what we cannot help, and approving what we ought to condemn*; and submitted, therefore, yet never consented to those usurpations; and when he was forced to comply with them, did it always with a reluctance, that he expresses very keenly in his letters to his friends. But whenever that force was removed, and he was at liberty to pursue his principles, and act without control, as in his consulship, in his province, and after Cæsar's death; the only periods of his life, in which he was truly master of himself; there we see him shining out in his genuine character, of an excellent citizen; a great magistrate; a glorious patriot: there we see the man, who could declare of himself, with truth, in an appeal to Atticus, as to the best witness of his conscience, that he had always done the greatest services to his country, when it was in his power; or when it was not, had never harbored a thought of it, but what was divine†. If we must needs compare him, therefore, with Cato, as some writers affect to do; it is certain, that if Cato's virtue seem more splendid in theory, Cicero's will be found superior in practice: the one was romantic, the other

* Non enim est idem, ferre si quid ferendum est, & probare si quid probandum non est. Ep. Fam. 9. 6.

† Præclara igitur conscientia sustentor, cum cogito me de Repub. aut meruisse optime cum potuerim; aut certe nunquam nisi divine cogitasse. Ad Att. x. 4.

rational; the one drawn from the refinements of the schools, the other from nature and social life; the one always unsuccessful, often hurtful; the other always beneficial, often salutary to the Republic.

To conclude; Cicero's death, though violent, cannot be called untimely, but was the proper end of such a life; which must have been rendered less glorious, if it had owed its preservation to Antony. It was, therefore, what he not only expected, bu , in the circumstances to which he was reduced, what he seems even to have wished*. For he, who before had been timid in dangers, and desponding in distress, yet, from the time of Cæsar's death, roused by the desperate state of the Republic†, assumed the fortitude of a hero; discarded all fear; despised all danger; and when he could not free his country from a tyranny, provoked the tyrants to take that life, which he no longer cared to preserve. Thus, like a great actor on the stage, he reserved himself, as it were, for the last act; and after he had played his part with dignity, resolved to finish it with glory.

The character of his son, Marcus, has been delivered down to us in a very disadvantageous light: for he is represented, generally, both by the ancients and moderns, as stupid and vicious, and a proverb even of degeneracy‡: yet, when we come to en-

* Nullum locum prætermitto monendi, agendi, providendi; hoc denique animo sum, ut si in hac cura atque administratione, vita mihi ponenda sit, præclare actum mecum putem. Ep. Fam. 9. 24.

† Sed plane animus, qui dubiis rebus forsitan fuerit infirmior, desperatis, confirmatus est multum. Ep. Fam. 5. 21.

‡ Ciceronem filium quæ res Consulem fecit, nisi pater? Senec.

quire into the real state of the fact, we shall find but little ground for so scandalous a tradition.

In his early youth, while he continued under the eye and discipline of his father, he gave all imaginable proofs both of an excellent temper and genius; was modest, tractable, dutiful; diligent in his studies, and expert in his exercises: so that, in the Pharsalic war, at the age of seventeen, he acquired a great reputation in Pompey's camp, by his dexterity of riding, throwing the javelin, and all the other accomplishments of a young soldier*. Not long after Pompey's death, he was sent to Athens; to spend a few years in the study of philosophy and polite letters, under Cratippus, the most celebrated philosopher of that time; for whom Cicero afterwards procured the freedom of Rome†. Here, indeed, upon his first sally into the world, he was guilty of some irregularity of conduct, and extravagance of expence, that made his father uneasy; into which he was supposed to have been drawn by Gorgias, his master of rhetoric, a lover of wine and pleasure; whom Cicero, for that reason, expostulated with severely by letter, and discharged from his attendance upon him. But the young man was soon made sensible of his folly, and recalled to his duty, by the remonstrances of his friends, and particularly of Atticus: so that his father readily paid his debts, and enlarged his al-

de Benef. 4. 30. Nam virtutes omnes aberant; stupor & vitia aderant. Lipsii Not. ad locum.

* Quo in bello cum te, Pompeius alæ alteri præfecisset, magnam laudem & a summo viro, & ab exercitu consequebare, equitando, jaculando, omni militari labore tolerando. Offic. 2. 13.

† Plut. in vit. Cic.

lowance; which seems to have been about seven hundred pounds per annum*.

From this time, all the accounts of him from the principal men of the place, as well as his Roman friends, who had occasion to visit Athens, are constant and uniform in their praises of him; and, in terms so particular and explicit, that they could not proceed from mere compliment, or a desire of flattering Cicero; as he often signifies with pleasure to Atticus†. Thus Trebonius, as he was passing into Asia, writes to him from Athens; "I "came hither on the twenty-first of May, where I "saw your son; and saw him, to my great joy, "pursuing every thing that was good, and, in the "highest credit for the modesty of his behaviour "—do not imagine, my Cicero, that I say this to "flatter you: for nothing can be more beloved, "than your young man is, by all who are at "Athens; nor more studious of all those arts, "which you yourself delight in, that is, the best. "I congratulate with you, therefore, very heartily, "which I can do with great truth, and not less "also with myself, that he, whom we were oblig-"ed to love, of what temper soever he had hap-"pened to be, proves to be such an one, as we "should chuse to love‡."

But the son's own letters gave the most solid comfort to his father; as they were written not only with

* —Ad Ciceronem ita scripsisti, ulli ut neque severius, neque temperatius scribi potuerit, nec magis quam quemadmodum ego maxime vellem. Ad Att. 13. 1. it. ib. 16. 1, 15. Plut. in Cic.

† Cæteri præclara scribunt. Leonidas tamen retinet illud suum adhuc, summis vero laudibus Herodes—[Ad Att. 15. 16.] Gratissimum, quod polliceris Ciceroni nihil defuturum; de quo mirabilia Messala. Ib. 17.

‡ Ep. Fam. 12. 16. vid. it. 14.

great duty and affection, but with such elegance also and propriety, that they were fit, he says, to be read to a learned audience; and though, in other points, he might possibly be deceived, yet, in these, he saw a real improvement both of his taste and learning*. None of these letters are now extant, nor any other monument of young Cicero's talents, but two letters to Tiro, one of which I have chosen to transcribe, as the surest specimen both of his parts and temper; written, as we may imagine, to one of Tiro's rank, without any particular care, and in the utmost familiarity, from his residence at Athens when he was about nineteen years old.

CICERO the Son to TIRO.

"While I was expecting every day, with impa-
"tience, your messengers from Rome, they came
"at last on the forty-sixth day after they left you.
"Their arrival was extremely agreeable to me; for
"my father's most indulgent and affectionate let-
"ter gave me an exceeding joy, which was still
"highly increased by the receipt also of yours: so
"that, instead of being sorry for my late omission
"of writing, I was rather pleased that my silence
"had afforded me so particular a proof of your
"humanity. It is a great pleasure, therefore, to

* A Cicerone mihi Literæ sane πεπινωμέναι, & bene longæ.—Cætera autem vel fingi possunt: πῖνος literarum significat doctiorem. [Ad Att. 14. 7.] Mehercule ipsius literæ sic & φιλοσόργως, & εὐπινῶς scriptæ, ut eas vel in acroasi audeam legere: quo magis illi indulgenbum puto. Id. 15. 17. vid. ib. 16.

" me, that you accepted my excuse so readily. I " do not doubt, my dearest Tiro, but that the re- " ports, which are now brought of me, give you a " real satisfaction. It shall be my care and endea- " vor, that this growing fame of me shall every " day come more and more confirmed to you; and, " since you promise to be the trumpeter of my " praises, you may venture to do it with assurance; " for the past errors of my youth have mortified " me so sensibly, that my mind does not only ab- " hor the facts themselves, but my ears cannot " even endure the mention of them. I am per- " fectly assured, that, in all this regret and solici- " tude, you have borne no small share with me; " nor is it to be wondered at; for though you " wish me all success, for my sake, you are en- " gaged also to do it for your own; since it was " always my resolution to make you the partner of " every good that may befal me. As I have be- " fore, therefore, been the occasion of sorrow to " you, so it shall now be my business to double " your joy on my account. You must know that " I live in the utmost intimacy with Cratippus, " and like a son, rather than a scholar; for I not " only hear his lectures with pleasure, but am infi- " nitely delighted with his conversation. I spend " whole days with him, and frequently also a part " of the night; for I prevail with him, as often as " I can, to sup with me; and, in our familiar chat, " as we sit at table, the night steals upon us, with- " out thinking of it, whilst he lays aside the seve- " rity of his philosophy, and jokes amongst us " with all the good humor imaginable. Contrive,

" therefore, to come to us as soon as possible, and " see this agreeable and excellent man. For what " need I tell you of Bruttius? whom I never part " with out of my sight. His life is regular and " exemplary, and his company the most entertain- " ing: he has the art of introducing questions of " literature into conversation, and seasoning philo- " sophy with mirth. I have hired a lodging for " him in the next house to me, and support his " poverty, as well as I am able, out of my narrow " income. I have begun also to declaim in Greek, " under Cassius, but choose to exercise myself in " Latin, with Bruttius. I live, likewise, in great " familiarity, and the perpetual company of those " whom Cratippus brought with him from Mity- " lene, who are men of learning, and highly es- " teemed by him. Epicrates, also, the leading " man at Athens, and Leonidas, spend much of " their time with me; and many others of the same " rank. This is the manner of my life at present. " As to what you write about Gorgias, he was use- " ful to me, indeed, in my daily exercise of de- " claiming, but I gave up all considerations, for " the sake of obeying my father, who wrote pe- " remptorily, that I should dismiss him instantly. " I complied, therefore, without hesitation, lest, by " shewing any reluctance, I might raise in him " some suspicion of me. Besides, I reflected that it " would seem indecent in me to deliberate upon the " judgment of a father. Your zeal, however, and " advice upon it, are very agreeable to me. I ad- " mit your excuse of want of leisure, for I know " how much your time is commonly taken up. I

"am mightily pleased with your purchase of a "farm, and heartily wish you joy of it. Do not "wonder at my congratulating you in this part of "my letter, for it was the same part of yours, in "which you informed me of the purchase. You "have now a place where you may drop all the "forms of the city, and are become a Roman of "the old rustic stamp. I please myself with plac-"ing your figure before my eyes, and imagining "that I see you bartering for your country wares, "or consulting with your bailiff, or carrying off "from your table, in a corner of your vest, the "seeds of your fruits and melons, for your garden. "But, to be serious, I am as much concerned as "you are, that I happened to be out of the way, "and could not assist you on that occasion: but, "depend upon it, my Tiro, I will make you easy "one time or other, if fortune does not disappoint "me; especially, since I know that you have "bought this farm for the common use of us both. "I am obliged to you for your care in executing "my orders, but beg of you, that a librarian may "be sent to me in all haste, and especially a Greek "one; for I waste much of my time in transcrib-"ing the lectures and books that are of use to me: "Above all things, take care of your health, that "we may live to hold many learned conferences "together. I recommend Antherus to you.—— "Adieu*."

This was the situation of young Cicero, when Brutus arrived at Athens; who, as it has been already said, was exceedingly taken with his virtue and good principles; of which he sent a high encomium to his father, and entrusted him,

* Ep. Fam. 16. 21.

though but twenty years old, with a principal command in his army; in which he acquitted himself with a singular reputation both of courage and conduct; and in several expeditions and encounters with the enemy, where he commanded in chief, always came off victorious. After the battle of Philippi, and the death of Brutus, he escaped to Pompey, who had taken possession of Sicily with a great army, and fleet superior to any in the empire. This was the last refuge of the poor Republicans, where young Cicero was received again with particular honors, and continued fighting still in the defence of his country's liberty; till Pompey, by a treaty of peace with the triumvirate, obtained, as one of the conditions of it, the pardon and restoration of all the proscribed and exiled Romans, who were then in arms with him*.

Cicero, therefore, took his leave of Pompey, and returned to Rome with the rest of his party, where he lived for some time in the condition of a private nobleman, remote from affairs and the court of the emperor; partly through the envy of the times, averse to his name and principles; partly through choice, and his old zeal for the Republican cause, which he retained still to the last. In this uneasy state, where he had nothing to rouse his virtue, or excite his ambition, it is not strange that he sunk into a life of indolence and pleasure, and the intemperate love of wine, which began to be the fashionable vice of this age, from the example of Antony, who had lately published a volume on the triumphs of his drinking. Young Cicero is said to

* App. p. 619. 713.

have practised it likewise to great excess, and to have been famous for the quantity that he used to swallow at a draught: "As if he had resolved," says Pliny, "to deprive Antony, the murderer of "his father, of the glory of being the first drunk-"ard of the empire*."

Augustus, however, paid him the compliment, in the mean while, to make him a priest, or augur†, as well as one of those magistrates who presided over the coinage of the public money; in regard to which, there is a medal still extant, with the name of Cicero on the one side, and Appius Claudius on the other, who was one of his colleagues in this office‡. But, upon the last breach with Antony, Augustus no sooner became the sole master of Rome, than he took him for his partner in the consulship: so that his letters, which brought the news of the victory at Actium, and conquest of

* Nimirum hanc gloriam auferre Cicero voluit interfectori patris sui, Antonio. Is enim ante eum avidissime apprehenderat hanc palmam; edito etiam volumine de sua ebrietate. Plin. Hist. Nat. 14. 22.

† App. p. 619.

‡ Vid. And. Morell. Thesaur. Numism. inter Numm. Consul. Goltzii. Tab. 33. 4.

These superintendents of the public coinage were called Treviri, or Triumviri Monetales, and in medals and old inscriptions are described thus: III. VIR. A. A. A. F. F. that is, Auro, Argento, Ære Flando, Feriundo. Their number had always been three, till J. Cæsar, as it appears from several medals, enlarged it to four: whence, in the coin of Cicero, just mentioned, we find him called IIII. VIR. There was another magistrate also, of lower rank, at Rome, called Tri[illegible]i Capitales, who tried and judged all capital crimes among foreigners and slaves, or even citizens of inferior condition: in allusion to which, Cicero has a pleasant joke, in one of his letters to Trebatius, when he was attending Cæsar in his wars against the Treviri, one of the most fierce and warlike na-[illegible]s of Gaul:—"I admonish you," says he, "to keep out of the "way of those Treviri; they are of the capital kind, I hear: I wish, rather, that they were the coiners of gold and silver.—Ep. Fam. 7. 13.

Egypt, were addressed to Cicero the consul; who had the pleasure of publishing them to the senate and people; as well as of making and executing that decree, which ordered all the statues and monuments of Antony to be demolished, and that no person of his family should ever after bear the name of Marcus. By paying this honour to the son, Augustus made some atonement for his treachery to the father; and, by giving the family this opportunity of revenging his death upon Antony, fixed the blame of it also there; while the people looked upon it as divine and providential, that the final overthrow of Antony's name and fortunes, should, by a strange revolution of affairs, be reserved for the triumph of young Cicero*. Some honors are mentioned, likewise, to have been decreed by Cicero, in this consulship, to his partner Augustus; particularly, an obsidional crown; which, though made only of the common grass that happened to be found upon the scene of action, yet, in the times of ancient discipline, was esteemed the noblest reward of military glory; and never bestowed but for the deliverance of an army, when reduced to the last distress†. This crown, therefore, had not been given above eight times from the foundation of Rome: but with the oppression of its liberty, all its honors were servilely prostituted to the will of the reigning monarch.

* Plut. in Cic. Dio. p. 456. App. p. 619. 672.

† Corona quidem nulla fuit graminea nobilior—nunquam nisi in desperatione suprema contigit ulli; nisi ab universo exercitu servato decreta—eadem vocatur obsidionalis—dabatur hæc viridi e gramine, decerpto inde ubi obsessos servasset aliquis—Ipsum Augustum cum M. Cicerone Consulem, idibus Septembribus Senatus obsidionali donavit, &c. Vid. Plin. Hist. Nat. 22. c. 3, 4, 5, 6.

Soon after Cicero's consulship, he was made proconsul of Asia; or, as Appian says, of Syria; one of the most considerable provinces of the empire: from which time we find no farther mention of him in history. He died, probably, soon after; before a maturity of age and experience had given him the opportunity of retrieving the reproach of his intemperance, and distinguishing himself in the councils of the state: but, from the honors already mentioned, it is evident that his life, though blemished by some scandal, yet was not void of dignity: and, amidst all the vices with which he is charged, he is allowed to have retained his father's wit and politeness*.

There are two stories related of him, which shew, that his natural courage and high spirit were far from being subdued by the ruin of his party and fortunes: for being in company with some friends, where he had drunk very hard, in the heat of wine and passion, he threw a cup at the head of Agrippa; who, next to Augustus, bore the chief sway in Rome†. He was provoked to it, probably, by some dispute in politics, or insult on the late champions, and vanquished cause of the Republic. At another time, during his government of Asia, one Cestius, who was afterwards prætor, a flatterer of the times, and a reviler of his father, having the assurance to come one day to his table, Cicero, after he had inquired his name, and understood that it was the man who used to insult the memory

* Qui nihil ex paterno ingenio habuit, præter urbanitatem. M. Senec. Suasor. 6.

† Marcoque Agrippæ a temulento scyphum impactum. Plin. Hist. Nat. 14. 22.

of his father, and declare that he knew nothing of polite letters, ordered him to be taken away, and publicly whipt*.

His nature seems to have been gay, frank, and generous; peculiarly turned to arms and martial glory; to which, by the unhappy fate of his country, he had been trained very young; and at an age that is commonly dedicated to the arts of peace and studies of learning, had served, with much honor to himself, in three successive wars, the most considerable in all history; of Pharsalia, Philippi, and Sicily. If his life, therefore, did not correspond with the splendor of his father's, it seems chargeable to his misfortune rather than his fault; and to the miserable state of the times, which allowed no room for the attainment of his father's honors, or the imitation of his virtues: but if he had lived in better times, and a free Republic, though he would not have been so eminent a scholar, or orator, or statesman as his father, yet he would have excelled him, probably, in that character, which conferred a more substantial power and dazzling glory, the fame of a brave and accomplished general.

The characters of Q. Cicero, the brother, of his son Quintus, and of Atticus, have been so frequently touched in the course of this history, that there is but little occasion to add any thing more about them. The two first, as we have already said, upon the news of their being proscribed, took their leave of Cicero in his flight towards the sea, and returned to Rome, in order to furnish themselves with money and other necessaries for a voyage to Macedonia. They hoped to have executed this,

* M. Senec. Suasor. 6.

before the proscription could take effect, or to lie concealed, at least for a short time, in the city, without the danger of a discovery: but the diligence of Antony's emissaries, and the particular instructions that they had received to make sure of the Ciceros, eluded all their caution and hopes of concealment. The son was found out the first; who is said to have been more solicitous for the preservation of his father, than to provide for his own safety: upon his refusal to discover where his father lay hid, he was put to the rack by the soldiers; till the father, to rescue his son from torture, came out from his hiding place, and voluntarily surrendered himself; making no other request to his executioners, than that they would dispatch him the first of the two. The son urged the same petition, to spare him the misery of being the spectator of his father's murder; so that the assassins, to satisfy them both, taking each of them apart, killed them, by agreement, at the same time*.

As to Atticus, the difficulty of the times in which he lived, and the perpetual quiet that he enjoyed in them, confirm what has already been observed of him, that he was a perfect master of the principles of his sect, and knew how to secure that chief good of an Epicurean life, his private ease and safety. One would naturally imagine, that his union with Cicero and Brutus, added to the fame of his wealth, would have involved him, of course, in the ruin of the proscription: he himself was afraid of it, and kept himself concealed for some time; but without any great reason; for, as if he had foreseen such an event

* Dio. p. 333. App. 601. Plut. in Cic.

and turn of things, he had always paid a particular court to Antony; and in the time even of his disgrace, when he was driven out of Italy, and his affairs thought desperate, did many eminent services to his friends at Rome; and above all, to his wife and children; whom he assisted, not only with his advice, but with his money also, on all occasions of their distress: so that when Antony came to Rome, in the midst of the massacre, he made it his first care to find out Atticus; and no sooner learnt where he was, than he wrote him word, with his own hand, to lay aside all fears, and come to him immediately; and assigned him a guard to protect him from any insult or violence of the soldiers*.

It must be imputed, likewise, to the same principle of Atticus's caution, and a regard to his safety, that, after so long and intimate a correspondence of letters with Cicero, on the most important transactions of that age, of which there are sixteen books of Cicero's still remaining, yet not a single letter of Atticus's was ever published: which can hardly be charged to any other cause, but his having withdrawn them from Tiro, after Cicero's death, and suppressed them with a singular care; lest, in that revolution of affairs, and extinction of the public liberty, they should ever be produced to his

* Atticus, cum Ciceronis intima familiaritate uteretur, amicissimus esse Bruto; non modo nihil iis indulsit ad Antonium violandum, sed e contrario familiares ejus ex urbe profugientes, quantum potuit, texit—ipsi autem Fulviæ, cum litibus distineretur—sponsor omnium rerum fuerit—itaque ad adventum Imperatorum de foro decesserat, timens proscriptionem—Antonius autem—ei, cum requisisset, ubinam esset, sua manu scripsit, ne timeret, statimque ad se veniret—ac ne quid periculum incideret—præsidium ei misit. Corn. Nep. in vit. Attic. x.

hurt, or the diminution of his credit with their new masters.

But his interest with the reigning powers was soon established on a more solid foundation than that of his personal merit, by the marriage of his only daughter with M. Agrippa; which was first proposed and brought about by Antony. This introduced him into the friendship and familiarity of Augustus, whose minister and favorite Agrippa was; and to whom he himself became afterwards nearly allied, by the marriage of his grandaughter, with his successor Tiberius*. Thus he added dignity to his quiet; and lived to a good old age, in the very manner in which he wished, happy and honorable; and remote from all trouble or the apprehension of danger. But that he still lives in the fame and memory of ages, is entirely owing to the circumstance of his having been Cicero's friend: for this, after all, was the chief honor of his life: and, as Seneca truly observed, it was the epistles of Cicero which preserved him from oblivion; and neither his son Agrippa, nor grandson Tiberius, nor great grandson Drusus would have been of any service to him, if Cicero's name, by drawing Atticus's along with it, had not given him an immortality†.

* Atque harum nuptiarum, non enim est celandum, conciliator fuit Antonius. [Ib. 12.] Nata est autem Attico neptis ex Agrippa. Hanc Cæsar vix anniculam, Tiberio Claudio Neroni, Drusilla nato, privigno suo despondit. Quæ conjunctio necessitudinem eorum sanxit. Ib. 19.

† Nomen Attici perire Ciceronis epistolæ non sinunt. Nihil illi profuisset gener Agrippa & Tiberius progener, & Drusus pronepos: inter tam magna nomina taceretur, nisi Cicero illum applicuisset. Senec. Ep. 21.

THE END.

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